

RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY
THE LAST PHASE

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B. N. DASGUPTA

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**To The Memory
of
J. K. Majumdar
whose voluminous works on
Rajah Rammohun Roy
have been the basis of this biography;
and of my dear friend
Amal Home
a dedicated scholar on
Rajah Rammohun Roy.**

Suttee Practice and Rammohun's Opposition

THE *Suttee* practice among the Hindus came down from a long time past. The practice of women-burning was, by no means, confined to India, it could be found all over the world at some stage or the other. In one form or another, most patriarchal societies showed this feature of widow sacrifice "from Scandinavia to the South Sea Islands". Edward Thompson remarked in one of his essays, "It belongs to a barbaric stratum which once overlay the world including India." It seems that it can be traced to an interplay of complex and perverse motives including tyrannical expression of a show of purism, inheritance or other motives, all due to orthodoxy in the old custom.

History records that Moghul Emperor Akbar tried to suppress this practice among the Hindus and it is also said that earlier Jehangir too made a law of death-penalty for this offence but could not carry it out in action. From time to time many administrators tried to stop it but even their best efforts proved to be nothing more than nibbling at the problem of its eradication. Evidently the custom was all the time looked down upon as inhuman but since numerous orthodox Hindus considered this as an act of merit which would ultimately bring eternal peace in Heaven, the practice continued among Hindu

widows. This conviction added strength to the tradition and the practice continued without caring for warnings. In European countries, instances of cruel punishments to those who held views against the current traditions and against views held by the ruling clergy are numerous—the practice of burning of old women under the pretext of their witch-craft abounds the pages of history all over the world in the middle ages but such cold-blooded destruction of young women on the pretext of their husbands' death was not heard of excepting in India. Though these acts were more than cruel the custom persisted specially in India and the society glossed over this for centuries. Rammohun was the first Hindu who not only severely condemned this practice but also made emphatic public protest challenging its validity by quoting the scriptural texts. In every possible way, he tried his best to show that the practice was not corroborated by the most important law-givers of the ancient times—one or two much lesser men might have given expression of approval probably under special circumstances and for reasons which have no moral sanction or nothing to do with public morality.

Until Rammohun shook the public conscience, the custom was persisting in Bengal severely irrespective of classes and the society leaders were unmoved by it. It is difficult to believe that the learned scholars and educated leaders of the orthodox Hindu society like Raja Radhakant Dev and Dewan Ramkamal Sen did not feel their conscience hurt by such self-immolation—more atrocious it is when we find there is no record that this practice was followed in their own families. Contrary to our expectation and to our utter dismay we notice that these two leaders together with a host of Rajas, Maharajas and Pundits not only approved the custom but opposed Rammohun's movement for its abolition. It is curious that neither in Bengal nor in any part of Hindu India any movement or protest ever took place, what is worst is that even in Benares, not a single group of pious or religious men or highly cultured Vedantists organised any public protest, leave aside Calcutta which was specially known for *Tantra*-influence and Kali worship. What adds to the tragedy of the situation is that Radhakanta Dev was later given the public honour of a

Magistrate and Justice of Peace by the Government and Ramkamal Sen was raised to higher and higher status. We are also at a loss to find absence of condemnation by foreigners in the English newspapers. These were the past incidents on which hardly any serious literature has been built up by the anthropologists.

The clouded mentality of the big and small people of Bengal (where incident of *Suttee* was the largest)¹ who bore silently the inhuman atrocities cannot be explained. It is an undisputed fact that Calcutta had the worst of rigours of this custom. The Calcutta figures are alarming compared with the figures in other regions. Yet nobody can dispute that the soil of Bengal was most propitious for acceptance of Buddhism and Ahimsa and also of acceptance of Vaishnavism of Chaitanya Mahaprabhu with his flood of love, sweeping the country throughout its length and breadth. The past records of Bengal as compared with the other regions of India bore clear evidence of these incidents in much larger degree. In the south and in the western regions of India, the incidence of this atrocity has been quite low. To-day suitable explanations for this state of affairs are extremely inadequate and the sociologists have to work on them. In explaining the causes why Burdwan and Hooghly regions showed the largest incidence, Mr. Oakley (Magistrate of Hooghly) said the following :

.....In Calcutta there was an excess of profligacy and immorality of conduct and the worshippers of Kali, who indulged in drinking and other immoral practices, considered the burning of *Suttees* as a choice entertainment rather as a religious act. The worship of Kali was not very popular in other districts and consequently the number of *Suttees* in those places was comparatively small. With regard to the sudden rise, the District Magistrate said that it was possibly due to interference of the Government. The Government regulation was in a way legalising the practice and people found that the Sastras sanctioning the inhuman practice were recognised by the Government. The Governor-General (Lord Hastings) therefore suspended any further action.....

If one has to attempt to explain the origin of the practice, he should primarily begin with the law of inheritance to see in what direction and with what emphasis, peoples' minds were working. This may be evident from the fact that in Bengal where Dayabhag obtains (on the death of the husband the entire property would be inherited by the wife) *Suttee* affected roughly one widow out of every thirty whereas in the upper provinces where Mitakshara obtains (on the death of the husband property would be divided amongst all successors including the widow) one widow out of a thousand fell victim to the practice.

The primary explanation might have been the law of inheritance,² but there was also a secondary explanation, in respect of which Rammohun's own writings can be quoted :

Therefore any quotation from other authorities or detached passages attributed to Manu, but not to be found in his code, and inconsistent with it cannot be considered as of any validity. Then, whence, it asked, arose a practice so repugnant to reason, and so contrary to the most ancient and highest legislative authority of the Hindoos ? Only (I reply) from the jealousy of their Princes, who were unable to tolerate the idea of their wives proving forgetful of them and associating with other men after their deaths,.....while their surviving relations did not fail to encourage the practice for the reasons above explained, to promote their own interest... ..to support their views, by interpolations, and inventions, under the name of traditions, and quotations, from the Poorans and Tantras, which all acknowledge to have no limit or certain standard.....

Leaving the general question and taking the particular case of Rammohun's own family, it may be pointed out that even his mother did not become a *Suttee* after her husband's death but, the , it was in her presence that her daughter-in-law (eldest son Jugmohun's wife) did adopt *Suttee*-practice. It is commonly held that on this self-immolation by Jugmohun's wife in 1811, Rammohun vowed to start a regular campaign relentlessly against this inhuman practice³ until its eradication. We have already seen that Rammohun made up his mind while in Benares

between 1798 and 1803 where he had witnessed horrible scenes of *Suttee* as well as child-sacrifice. In 1818 we find Rammohun raising his voice in Atmiya Sabha in condemnation of not only these inhuman practices but also other social evils. He expressed indignation in public meetings and through his writings. It is said that he even visited these funeral scenes⁴ whenever possible to plead personally for saving the victims. His campaign started from 1811 and was re-inforced from 1818, when after a serious study of the law he wrote a tract. Rammohun's tract created a strong commotion in the orthodox section of the Hindu society and at last he was able to move the Government to action, particularly when these cases were found to be increasing in number upto 1818.

In February 1822, a Government order was issued under the signature of the Adjutant-General prohibiting the concrementation of a pregnant woman or one having a child of tender age or of any girl not yet arrived at full age or one forced against her wish. The Government order ran thus :

Whereas it has appeared that during the Ceremony denominated *Suttee*, (at which Hindu women burn themselves) certain acts have been occasionally committed, in direct opposition to the rules laid down in the religious institutes of the Hindus, by which that practice is authorised, and forbidden in particular cases : as for instance, at several places pregnant women, and girls not yet arrived at their full age have been burnt alive, and people after having intoxicated women by administering intoxicating substances, have burnt them without their assent whilst insensible; and in as much as this conduct is contrary to the Shastras, and perfectly inconsistent with every principle of humanity...it will be then their duty to exert themselves in restraining them; and at the same time to let them know that it is not the intention of the Government to check or forbid any act authorised by the tenets of the Religion of the inhabitants of their dominions; or even to require any express leave or permission being required previously to the performance of the act of *Suttee*; and the Police Officers are not to interfere and

prevent any such act from taking place. And lastly, it will be their duty to transmit immediately for the information of the Magistrates, a full detail of any measures which they may have adopted on this subject, and also on every occasion when within the limits of Thannahs this Ceremony of *Suttee* may take place; the same being lawfully conducted, they will insert it in the Monthly Reports.

The activities and sentiments of the Government were communicated to the Court of Directors and the latter wrote back that Parliament had already been put in possession of the facts of the situation in the country. Buckingham, already in England after deportation from India, added his share of publicity through the *Oriental Herald* describing all that he had been doing while in India with the help of his *Calcutta Journal*.

Lord Hastings was then the Governor General. Though he tried to stop the practice, the fear of a revolt among the Sepoys refrained him from any strong decisive step. The same fear worked also on Lord Amherst, his successor, who recorded his decision in March 1827 :

...I must frankly confess, though at the risk of being considered insensible to the enormity of the evil, that I am inclined to recommend our trusting to the progress now making in the diffusion of knowledge amongst the natives, for the gradual suppression of this detestable superstition. I cannot believe it possible that the burning or burying alive of widows will long survive the advancement which every year brings with it...I wish that the substance of Mr. Harington's excellent preamble to his proposed regulation could be embodied in some of the books of instruction which are distributed so generally, and in such large numbers, by our School Book Society.....

After Lord Amherst, came Lord Bentinck as Governor-General. Bentinck, before leaving London, was reported to have made up his mind to stop anyhow this inhuman and immoral practice. After reaching India, he however, started consultation with those administrators specially known to have

India's good at heart. He was in possession of some facts quite early in his administration, an account of which is given below :

In the Delhi Territory, Sir Charles Metcalfe never permitted a *Suttee* to be performed.

In Jessore, one of the districts of the Calcutta Division, in 1824 there were 30 *Suttees*; in 1825, 16; in 1826, 3; in 1828, there were none. To no other cause can this be assigned, than to a power beyond the law, exercised by the Acting Magistrate, against which however, no public remonstrance was made. Mr. Pigou has been since appointed to Cuttack, and has pursued the same strong interference as in Jessore, but his course, although most humane, was properly arrested, as being illegal, by the Commissioners. Though the case of Jessore is perhaps one of the strongest examples of efficacious and unopposed interposition, I really believe that there are few Districts in which the same arbitrary power is not exercised to prevent the practice. In the last week, in the report of the Acting Commissioner, Mr. Smith, he states that in Ghazipore in the last year 16, and the preceding year 7, *Suttees* had been prevented by the persuasions, or rather it should be said, by the threats of the police Having made inquiries also how far *Suttees* are permitted in the European Foreign Settlements, I find from Dr Carey that at Chinsurah no such sacrifices had even been permitted by the Dutch Government. That within the limits of Chander-nogore itself they were also prevented, but allowed to be performed in the British territories. The Danish Government of Serampore has not forbidden the rite in conformity to the example of the British Government.

When he consulted Mr. Horace Wilson, one of the most sincere friends of India, the reputed orientalist noted in his reply :

...My opinions are adverse to any authoritative interference with the practice of infant sacrifice at Sagor and it was not only unauthorised by any part of the Hindu code...

It was of rare and restrictive occurrence. This affords no parallel to the performance of an act observed throughout India for many ages, under every form of Government and enjoined by texts which all orthodox Hindus regarded as holy.....the practice of female infanticide was of very limited observance. Its suppression was the work of persuasion and personal influence..... the practice has never been abolished.....the enjoyment of settled property.....may have contributed to render the murder of female infants comparatively rare but there is no doubt that both in Guzerat and in the Gangetic provinces female children are still destroyed by particular tribes.....the capital punishment of Brahmins are alluded to in your letter as an instance of safe interference with Hindu prejudices. It is true that no open opposition has been made to the execution of such a sentence—the Mohamedan Government is not likely to have held the persons of Brahmins inviolable and their being condemned to death was therefore no innovation.....these considerations therefore appear to me of little weight. The analogies are fallacious and it seems a dangerous evasion of the real difficulties attending the question of abolishing the *Suttee* to adduce them as proof of the impunity with which its abolition may be affected.....of a similar character is the attempt to represent it as not essentially a part of the Hindu religion. A widow, it is true, is not commanded^d to burn in every case and *Manu* is silent on the subject of concremation. Other authorities of equal sanctity are sufficiently explicit.....the *Suttee* cannot be put down without interference with the Hindu religion.....

I am confident that his Lordship will do me the justice to believe that I should be one of the warmest advocates for the abolition of so inhuman a rite if I was not strongly impressed with the apprehension that serious evil may attend any measures proposed for its absolute suppression.

Then Bentinck wrote pointing out the following :

H.H. Wilson thinks that the attempt to put down the practice will inspire extensive dissatisfaction. I agree also

in this opinion. I must acknowledge that a similar opinion as to the probable excitation of a deep distrust of our future intentions was mentioned to me in conversation by that enlightened native, Rammohun Roy, a warm advocate for the abolition of *Suttee* and of all other superstitions and corruptions engrafted on the Hindu religion.....

Bentinck appreciated the cautious views of H.H. Wilson and the possibility of deeper distrust but they fell short in a matter like this. He then wrote to Lord Hastings in England for his opinion and the latter replied :

The subject which you wish to discuss is one which must interest one's feelings most deeply, but it is one of most extreme nicety when I mention that in one of the years during my administration of Govt. in India above 800 widows sacrificed themselves within the provinces comprised in the Presidency of Bengal, to which number I very much suspect that very many not notified to the magistrates should be added. I will hope to have credit for being acutely sensible to such an outrage against humanity. At the same time, I was aware how much danger might attend the endeavouring to suppress forcibly a practice so rooted in the religious belief of the natives. No men of low caste are admitted into the ranks of the Bengal Army. Therefore the whole of the formidable body must be regarded as blindly partial to a custom which they consider as equally referable to family honour and to points of faith. To attempt the extinction of the horrid superstition without being supported in the procedure by a real concurrence on part of the army would be distinctly perilous. I have no scruple to say that I did believe I could have carried with me the assent of the army towards such an object. That persuasion, however, arose from circumstances which gave me peculiar influence over native troops.

Thus Bentinck had before him the views of several administrators and also of the well-wishers of India. He had also before him several published tracts which Rammohun wrote pointing out the views of the illustrious ancient law-givers. He

fully appreciated the impassioned appeals of Rammohun and he now invited him for a consultation of the momentous issue before him. After some discussions Rammohun suggested :

That any practice might be suppressed quietly and unobservedly by increasing the difficulties and by the indirect agency of the police.

Rammohun apprehended :

That any public enactment might give rise to general apprehension, that the reasoning would be, while the English were contending for power, they deemed it politic to allow universal toleration and to respect our religion but having obtained the supremacy, their first act is a violation of their profession and the next will probably be, like the Mohamedan conquerors, to force upon us their own religion.

Then Bentinck disclosed his intention of suppressing this evil practice by legal enactment. Rammohun at first felt that in social problems, legal enactment would be very undesirable but in the next moment he not only gave approval but assured him all help that he was capable of rendering.

When the orthodox community led by Raja Radhakanta Dev came to know that Bentinck had finally decided to lean in favour of Rammohun's appeals and to abolish the practice by law, *Samachar Chandrika* wrote :

Rammohun, no doubt, was born in a Hindu family, but how could he represent all or majority of the Hindus. He cannot claim to represent his own forefathers or the clan, not to speak of the community.

Bentinck's consultations⁶ ended and he made his decision with extreme boldness (in spite of what had already happened two decades back at Vellore). He finally wrote :

The first and primary object of my heart is the benefit of the Hindus. I know nothing so important to the improvement:

of their future condition as the establishment of a purer morality, whatever their belief, and a more just conception of the will of God. The first step for this better understanding will be dissociation of religious belief and practice from blood and murder. They will then, when no longer under this brutalising excitement view with more calmness acknowledged truths. They will see that there can be no inconsistency in the ways of providence, that to the command received as divine by all races of men. 'No innocent blood shall be split' there can be no exception, and when they shall have been convinced of the error of this first and most criminal of their customs, may it not be hoped that others, which stand in the way of their improvement, may likewise pass away, and thus emancipated from those chains and shackles upon their minds and actions, they may no longer continue, as they have done, the slaves of every foreign conqueror, but that they may assume their first places among the great families of mankind ? I disown in these remarks, or in this measure, any view whatever to conversion to our own faith. I write and feel as a legislator for the Hindus, and as I believe many enlightened Hindus think and feel.

Descending from these higher considerations, it cannot be a dishonest ambition that the Government of which I form a part should have the credit of an act which is to wash out a foul stain upon British rule, and to stay the sacrifice of humanity and justice to a doubtful expediency, and finally as a branch of the general administration of the Empire, I may be permitted to feel deeply anxious that our course shall be in accordance with the noble example set to us by the British Government at home, and that the adaptation, when practicable to the circumstances of this vast Indian population, of the same enlightened principles, may promote here as well as there the general prosperity, and may exalt the character of our nation.

It will be seen that Bentinck passed through a great mental struggle between expediency and caution on one side and duty on the other, between what was expected of him as an efficient

administrator and what was incumbent on him as a Governor-General with a large vision and fully possessed of a sense of progress to rehabilitate India to a stable position. Bentinck had also a keen sense of social justice consistent with conservation of national traditions. This being the background, the studied opinion of Mrityunjay Vidyalkar (who had already understood Government's leanings to abolition of the practice) and the strong support received from Rammohun's tracts must have given Bentinck a distinct spurt in taking a bold decision. Further a portion of the translations by Sir William Jones' must have strengthened Bentinck still more.

Administrator's Way

Bentinck now adopted a courageous stand and with a stout heart completed the Minute to abolish the cruel practice by the promulgation of an ordinance. The concluding part of this historic Minute stated :

.....It is upon this first and highest consideration alone, the good of mankind, that the tolerance of this inhuman and impious rite can in my opinion be justified on the part of the Government of a civilised nation. While the solution of this question is appalling from the unparalleled magnitude of its possible results, the considerations belonging to it are such as to make even the stoutest mind distrust its decision. On the one hand, Religion, Humanity, under the most appalling form as well as Vanity and Ambition—in short, all the powerful influences over the human heart.....are arrayed to bias and mislead the judgement. On the other side, the section of countless ages, the example of all the Mussulman conquerors, the unanimous concurrence in the name of policy of our most able rulers together with the universal veneration of the people, seem authoritatively to forbid, both to feeling and to reason, and interference in the exercise of their natural prerogative. In venturing to be the first to deviate from this practice it becomes us to show that nothing has been yielded to feeling, but that reason, and reason alone, has governed the decision.....

.....Prudence and self-interest would counsel me to tread in the foot-steps of my predecessors. But in a case of such momentous importance to humanity and civilisation that man must be reckless of all his present to future happiness who could listen to the dictates of so wicked and selfish a policy. With the firm undoubting conviction entertained upon this question, I should be guilty of little short of the crime of multiplied murder if I could hesitate in the performance of this solemn obligation. I have been already stung with this feeling. Every day's delay adds a victim to the dreadful list.....

Bentinck signed the Minute on November 8, 1829, making the *Suttee* practice illegal and punishable by law. On this basis the Government issued the Regulation on December 4, 1829. Rammohun won his life's most ardent objective but the enforcement of the law took more time than was expected. The enlightened liberal section of Hindu Bengal paid congratulatory address to the Governor-General; the Europeans presented a separate address; but the orthodox section of Hindu Bengal led by Raja Radhakanta Dev went to Bentinck on January 14, 1830 with a long representation bearing a thousand signatures including those of many learned Pundits and citizens.⁸

Rammohun's study of the Sastric provisions for widows had convinced him that con cremation was not a part of Hindu religion but only a practice, loosely followed, over a long period. The idea of eternal happiness which largely prompted this action had nothing to do with Hinduism. The smaller authorities like Angira, Harita, etc., had endorsed the *Suttee* practice but it was more for a show of purism—some half-hearted and others forced. In fact the greatest and oldest law-givers Manu and Jajnavalkya who stand supreme as law-givers in India had not recommended the self-killing practice for widows. They, on the other hand, prescribed a strictly virtuous and austere life for them. Rammohun was guided by these law-givers and brought social pressure for stopping this evil practice. But it was seen that his personal intervention (when he opposed this practice during his stay in Benares) had no

effect. He thus came to the conclusion that much more effective and strong measures from Government side were essential for stopping this evil.

In spite of Rammohun's ceaseless efforts, he has not been given, by one group of Indian scholars, his due share of credit, after the abolition of the *Suttee* practice, ostensibly on the ground that when Bentinck wanted Rammohun's opinion on his proposed legal measure, the latter did not favour it wholeheartedly.

Reformer's Way

Rammohun said the following to Bentinck :

.....The practice might be suppressed quietly and unobservedly by increasing the difficulties and by indirect agency of the Police.

How absurd it is to construe the above, as has been done by a reputed historian, that Rammohun's mind was not fully made up for abolition of the practice. Let it be repeated here that it was Rammohun who having felt deeply oppressed by the barbarity of the practice, wrote tract after tract, exposing the evil effects when the whole country was indifferent and when the orthodox section was distinctly against any interference with the existing practice. In writing out tracts, he carried out deep study of the ancient texts, since he realised that the only means for achieving his objective was to convince the orthodox leaders, for it was they who invariably led or coerced the common people to form their views of what was to be done or not to be done—unfortunately, it was not by the dictates of common people's conscience, since that freedom was denied to them by their conscience-keepers, *i.e.*, the Zamindars.

It would be nothing short of a flagrant travesty of truth, if, despite Rammohun's long record of persuasions by all means, Rammohun is accused of having had no clear objective. Rammohun had his own views on the "means" of abolition of the practice but about "abolition itself", his stand was clear,

positive and final. The choice of "means" is what distinguishes the Reformer from the Administrator. Rammohun knew that it was always wise to adopt the means which least disturbs the minds of the common people. A reformer like Rammohun who dedicated his whole life in ridding the society of the evils of caste system, polygamy, child-marriage, child-sacrifice, widow-oppression culminating in *Suttee* practice, would naturally emphasise on the need for spontaneous efforts from below through the people as against legal enactments from above. It would be absurd, if for every reform, legal enactments are resorted to instead of quietly permeating new ideas into the society supplemented by physical impediments.

The reputed historian, R.C. Majumdar, referred to above, has very ungenerously and without the slightest justification interpreted Rammohun as below :

According to Bentinck's Minute, Roy recommended that the practice might be suppressed quietly and unobservedly by increasing the difficulties and by indirect agency of the Police. It is rather extraordinary that Roy should have made this suggestion.....The avenging force of fact remains that when Bentinck was determined to legislate on *Suttee*, Roy lurched and staggered.

But Rammohun did not stagger for nothing; he must have felt that his reformatory objective of getting the evil practice abandoned by the people themselves out of disgust, futility and sheer helplessness, was not being achieved; that on the contrary, a positive violation, however well-intentioned and however gloriously conceived, might give a jerk in the Sepoy's mind. Our reputed historian has himself pointed out :

Roy opposed legislative enactment on the ground that public enactment would not only violate the British profession of religious neutrality on which they (Britishers) had prided themselves but would create mistrust in the minds of the Hindus about the British intentions.

Having pointed out, it does not behove him to cast reflection on Rammohun's so-called faltering by stating :

...faltering in resolution in the part he played in the prelude to the abolition of *Suttee*.

It was not faltering in the sense of "hesitating to take action on abolition" but hesitating to adopt "legal enactment", where social impediments and obstructions, strengthened by administrative measures, should have achieved the objective. R.C. Majumdar's emphasis, however, on violation of religious neutrality, has lent a great support to the historian S.N. Sen's analysis of the causes of the Sepoy Mutiny which runs as follows :

.....An atmosphere of distrust and suspicion had been created by a series of well-intentioned but ill-judged legislative and administrative measures which shook to its very core the sepoy's faith in the bonafides of the Sarkar, and successive Governors-General contributed unconsciously to the steady deterioration of public confidence in their good faith. Lord Dalhousie has generally been held responsible for the outbreak but no single act of his by itself would have caused the revolt. Lord William Bentinck, Lord Amherst, Lord Auckland, and Lord Ellenborough had each by some act of omission or commission either alienated orthodox opinion in the country or interfered with ancient rights and privileges dearly cherished by the people.

The alien government was based not on the loyalty of the people but upon its armed force. The sepoy felt that his was the strong arm that had sustained it so long, and he could overthrow it whenever he wanted. He had hitherto remained loyal to his salt, but when he thought that his employers aimed at nothing less than his ancestral faith, the very basis of that loyalty was shattered.. ...The revolt had been long brewing, the greased cartridge only hastened it.

Taking a long view, Rammohun felt in one way which was the Reformer's way and it was to effect a thorough change in the people's mentality, but in the circumstances in which he was placed, he felt that it was upto the administrator to take recourse to his own line of action, in view of his own administrative

responsibilities. He only indicated his preference and left the matter in Bentinck's hands. As the decision came, Rammohun felt relieved but still unhappy at the thought of its possible repercussion on the Sepoys. He must have sensed a faint streak of cloud gathering on the horizon. In course of time, several such lapses (as appeared to the Sepoys) from the original assurance on the part of the British administration deepened the faint streak of cloud until it burst with a thunder, in the uprising of 1857. True, Rammohun staggered as any thinking-man would stagger, so did also Bentinck (as any Reformer would do) which will be more than clear as one reads the final portion of Bentinck's note.

It is inconceivable, though it is a fact, that two learned, well established God-fearing men like Dewan Ramkamal Sen and Raja Radhakanta Dev along with their numerous orthodox Hindu supporters, opposed Bentinck's decision—a progressive measure. The role of these two men in particular and of the followers in general was tantamount to sacrificing countless widows (including very young widows) on the plea of religious injunctions, a kind of mass sacrifice under social pressure, merely on the plea of husband's death. Therefore opposition to the abolition only meant that the orthodox leaders of the Hindu society were slaves of a cruel practice, yet it must be noted that it was not compulsory—Rammohun's mother did not become *Suttee*. If the leaders of the society had a good understanding of the *sastric* provisions, they could not support this practice since the essence of Hinduism is that man is a spark of the Divine and therefore self-immolation would be a serious crime, and that those who were involved in this killing would be equally punishable.

If Radhakanta Dev and Ramkamal Sen realised the true spirit of *sastric* provisions they as leaders of the Hindu society could not have debased themselves in opposing the abolition of the custom, for it was such unfortunate widows who really deserved their sympathy and protection. It is difficult to imagine how these leaders set aside the greatest of law-givers like Manu. The leaders missed the wholesome teachings of *sastras* and degraded their religion by associating it with the *Suttee*

custom. The charge that Hinduism put little stress on ethical principles of life and that Buddhism provided that necessary stress as did also Christianity, seems true to a large measure. Rammohun guided by ethical principles opposed all unethical practices, however ancient they might be, by tracts and by persuasion.

Bentinck, as a Christian guided by ethical principles and administrative ideals, felt impelled to rise to his full stature rather than blindly act on "British assurance of religious neutrality" without a fuller assessment in the light of national growth. Evidently Bentinck did not take these practices as part of religion. Bentinck's bold utterances in all their progressive measures will reverberate from age to age, and from one corner to another. It is worth remembering Bentinck's firm words :

.....When Governor of Madras, I saw, in the Mutiny of Vellore, the dreadful consequences of a supposed violation of religious custom upon the minds of the native population and soldiery. I cannot forget that I was then the innocent victim of that unfortunate catastrophe and I might reasonably dread, when the responsibility would justly attach to me in the event of failure, a recurrence of the same fate. Prudence and self-interest would counsel me to tread in the footsteps of my predecessors. But in a case of such momentous importance to humanity and civilisation, that man must be reckless of all his present or future happiness who could listen to the dictates upon this question. I should be guilty of little short of crime of multiplied murder, if I would hesitate in the performance of this solemn obligation.

Bentinck responded fully where his predecessors deemed it wiser and safer to keep quiet. Both Bentinck and Rammohun performed their part in deep conviction, yet if one has to apportion the credit in this matter, it may not be wrong to give the larger share to Rammohun, because Rammohun voluntarily espoused the cause. He worked over thirty long years from 1799 to 1833.

It is interesting to read a letter of an admiring lady, Mrs. Martin, who overwhelmed by the great courage of Rammohun wrote the following in the *Bengal Hurkara* :

The statesman whose name is associated with the proceedings of this memorable juncture merits the loud applause of those whose interests are more immediately identified with the Government over which he presides, as having exhibited that Government in a point of view at once interesting and novel,...in an attitude of independence it had never before assumed,...and as being free to co-operate for, and sufficiently powerful to the establishment of measures in, the advocacy of Justice and the public weal.

This, Sir, is the circumstance which will render the rule of Lord Bentinck in India more illustrious than that of any of his predecessors,...this confirms his claim to that constitutional liberality of character, without which a great and good man never existed.....

But, Sir, in the further investigation of this affair, the full onus of merit will be perceived to rest, not on the Government, but on one of the most eminent Philanthropists that any country has ever produced, and without whose extraordinary and unceasing exertions, it would be supererogatory to insinuate that the act of council, now so generally applauded might never have been passed. Your observation that "Europe will resound with praises on the exertions of the Indian Government on this occasion" should certainly have been modified; the series of grievances to which its imbecility in this respect has given protracted continuance can surely not be cancelled by the mere tardy introduction of a measure which a disgraceful apprehension of danger, alone prevented from being earlier adopted...and which, as I have before observed, would not now, in the utmost probability, have been brought into effect, (though to diffuse a peculiar radiance even over the present administration) but for the powerful though unacknowledged aid of the great Hindu Philosopher, Rammohun Roy,...and in.....

Frozen indeed must be those emotions, and superficial, vitiated, and contemptible those political theorems, which unconscious to the enthusiasm of philanthropy in the one instance, or trembling at the supposititious embarrassment in the other, renounce alike the honor, the greatness and the immortal glory to which the performance of courageous and generous deeds conducts !

But a dawn is bursting on a new and happier prospect, the triumphs of liberty, whether over abject system of polity or national error are necessarily remarkable for an emanation of splendour, which dissipating the surrounding darkness chases the fugitive shadows to the gloom of the eternal past,...at least to the countrywomen of the Hindu Patriot may it prove so,...at least to those prodigies of fortitude the Indian widows may the present era prove a Jubilee which enfranchises them for ever,...and in commemorating the amiable and highly politic administration of Lord Bentinck, may they never cease to remember the glowing sympathy, intelligence, and fearless energy displayed through a course of eighteen years, by their great and at length successful advocate, Rammohun Roy.

To the above letter *Bengal Hurkara* referred in its next issue as follows :

In a preceding page we have inserted a letter from Mrs. Martin on the abolition of the *Suttee*. Our fair correspondent has paid a just tribute to the labours of that learned Brahman and ardent philanthropist, Rammohun Roy. This enlightened Hindu has long laboured to prove to his countrymen that the custom is not only abhorrent to every principle of humanity but is actually in contradiction to the Sastras or Sacred writings. It must indeed be a proud and happy reflection to this eminent and worthy native gentleman that his exertions and his hopes are now about to be consummated by the manliness and good feeling of the present Government. The fervent eulogy of an English lady, thus openly and nobly bestowed upon this excellent Individual, we are quite sure will not be undervalued by him,

however accustomed he may be to the voice of praises from almost every quarter of the globe. We cannot, however, help regretting that our fair correspondent should have made rather an invidious distinction between Lord William Bentinck and Rammohun Roy, with reference to their peculiar share to the glory to accrue from the suppression of so ancient and detestable a practice as the *Suttee*. Lord William Bentinck has done all that a Governor should do. If he has not devoted so many years of labour and anxiety to the accomplishment of the same object, he has evinced the same sincerity of purpose, and has seized on the first opportunity of effecting, at one blow, what Rammohun Roy has prepared the way for, by the energy of argument and the grace of eloquence. Let us not therefore offer our exclusive praise and gratitude either to Rammohun Roy or to Lord Bentinck. The former would never have succeeded in his patriotic and enlightened labours without the co-operation of the latter, nor would Lord Bentinck, have ventured on so desirable a measure, if the minds of the natives had not been prepared to abandon the worst of superstitions, by the unwearied labours of their distinguished countrymen.

Once Bentinck adopted his own way of abolishing the practice Rammohun assured him all his support in case of any untoward event. Some correspondence, it is believed, took place between Bentinck and Rammohun when the former got upset by the commotion created by the orthodox adherents of Radhakanta Dev. In a meeting at Bolepur (West Bengal) on September 10, 1977, Prof. Dilip Biswas,⁹ the most eminent authority on Rammohun, told us that he had discovered scraps of scribblings of Rammohun giving Bentinck full assurance of all help, if any untoward event took place at all.

NOTES

1. Table of *Suttee* cases :

Year	Calcutta Div.	Dacca	Murshida- bad	Patna	Benares	Bareilly*	Total
1815	253	31	11	29	48	15	387
1816	289	24	21	29	65	13	441
1817	442	52	42	49	103	19	707
1818	544	58	30	57	137	14	839
1819	421	55	25	40	92	17	650
1820	370	51	21	42	93	20	597
1821	391	52	12	69	104	15	654
1822	528	45	22	70	102	16	583
1823	340	40	13	49	121	12	575
1824	373	40	14	59	76	10	572
1825	398	101	21	47	55	17	639
1826	324	65	8	65	48	8	518
1827	337	49	9	55	49	18	517
1828	308	47	10	55	33	19	463

* Bareilly represents what were the upper provinces of British India.

2. Rammohun in his *Essay On the Rights of Hindoos Over Ancestral Property According to the Law of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1830) writes :

"6. From a regard for the usages of the country, the practice of the British courts in Bengal, as far as related to the law of inheritance, has been hitherto consistent with the principles laid down in the *Dayabhaga*, and judgments have accordingly been given on its authority in many most important cases of frequent occurrence which have been fully discussed, and invariably decided by the judicial tribunals in Bengal, in conformity with the doctrines of *Jimutavahana*.

"First. If a member of an undivided family dies, leaving no male issue, his widow shall not be entitled to her husband's share according to the *Mitakshara* : but according to the *Dayabhaga*, she shall inherit such undivided portion.

"Second. A childless widow, inheriting the property of her deceased husband, is authorised to dispose of it, according to the *Mitakshara* : but according to the *Dayabhaga*, she is not entitled to sell or give it away.

"Third. If a man dies, leaving one daughter having issue, and another without issue, the latter shall inherit the property left by her father, according to the *Mitakshara* : while the former shall receive it according to the *Dayabhaga*.

"Fourth. If a man dies without issue or brothers, leaving a sister's son and a paternal uncle, the latter is entitled to the property, according to the *Mitakshara* : and the former according to the *Dayabhaga*.

"Fifth. A man, having a share of undivided real property, is not authorised to make a sale or gift of it without the consent of the rest of his partners, according to the *Mitakshara* : but according to the *Dayabhaga*, he can dispose of it at his free will.

"Sixth. A man in possession of ancestral real property, though not under any tenure limiting it to successive generations of his family, is not authorised to dispose of it, by sale or gift, without the consent of his sons and grandsons, according to the *Mitakshara* : while according to the *Dayabhaga*, he has the power to alienate the property at his free will."

According to Colebrooke's translation of the *Dayabhaga* (Chapter XI), "the whole wealth of a deceased husband who had no male issue, shall belong to his widow though there be brothers of whole blood, paternal uncles, daughter's sons and other heirs", still too much of stress on "motive of inheritance" may not be correct interpretation, because

looking into Parliamentary Papers one will find a number of cases of *Suttee* where family means were extremely meagre and the question of inheritance negligible. It will also be apparent that apart from Brahmins, lower castes also were involved.

3. Apart from being inhuman, the practice was irrational. Rammohun's emphasis on rationality (as against religious convention) was something unique at that time. Any serious student of ancient history would know that India produced many great rationalists among whom was Buddha who told his disciples that if at any time they had doubts about the efficacy of his doctrines, they should not hesitate to change them. Brihaspati the law-giver was another.

4. See J.K. Majumdar, op. cit., p. XXVIII.

5. True, some widows destroyed themselves of their own wish but in many cases, they were induced by drugging. In the concluding paragraphs of his recently discovered fourth tract (published in England) Rammohun took his stand on the code of Manu (pp. 75-76) and not on humanitarian or other considerations. Modern Hindu social reformers cannot be expected to possess his faith in the sacred books where two courses were provided for the widow : ascetic life or *anumarana*. But the earlier codes prescribed quite a different course *niyoga*, appointment, analogous to the Jewish Levirate, a custom by which a dead man's brother or next of kin or even a member of the same caste could raise issue on the widow. The widow was first made to lie down by her dead husband on the funeral pyre. She was then made to rise and return home with the recitation of the following stanza which occurs both in the Rigveda (X. 188) and the Atharvaveda (XVIII. 3. 1) : "Go up, o woman, to the world of the living; thou liest by this one who is deceased; come to him who grasps thy hand, thy second spouse thou hast now entered into the relation of wife to husband." This shows that in the Vedic period the primitive custom of self-immolation of the widow was forbidden among the progressive elements of the population.

6. The picture of *Suttee* practice abolition will not be complete without the following information regarding the authorities for the abolition :

- (a) Those of persons in favour of an immediate and total suppression of the Rite by the authority of Government (25 in number);
- (b) Those recommending the immediate suppression of the Rite by the authorised interference of the local magistrates (1 in number);
- (c) Persons recommending a total and immediate prohibition of the Rite by Legislative enactments, as expedient, safe and practicable (8 in number);

- (d) Persons recommending a gradual abolition of the Rite by the authorised interference of the Magistrates (10 in number);
- (e) Persons who abstained from giving any opinion on the subject at large, but apprehended no danger from a prohibition of the Rite, as regards the Native army (3 in number);
- (f) Persons adverse to a direct prohibition of the Rite by Government (11 in number);
- (g) Persons adverse to a total prohibition of the Rite as being premature (2 in number);
- (h) Persons adverse to every species of official interference with the Rite of *Suttee* (4 in number);
- (i) Persons adverse to prohibition of the Rite, as being a departure from the principles of toleration, but who conceived it would be safe though productive of dissatisfaction (2 in number).

(Abstracted from the Appendix to the Statement submitted by the East India Company, to the King's most Honourable Privy Council.)

7. ".....the translations of the institutes of Manu, by Sir William Jones, which is before the public, and which, to use the language of that immortal work, is a system of duties, religious and civil.....promulgated in the beginning of the time of Manu.....the first of created beings and not the oldest only, but holiest of legislators, a system so comprehensive and so minutely exact, that it may be considered as the institutes of Hindu Law". (Sir W. Jones *Works*, Vol. VIII, Preface). This great legislator, in prescribing the duties of widows, thus ordains: "Let her (the widow) continue till death, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue, which have been followed by such women, as were devoted to one only husband"; and like those abstemious men, a virtuous wife ascends to heaven though she has no child if after the decease of her lord, she devote herself to pious austerity (Verse 160).....It cannot be alleged that the Veda may have justified the practice and superseded the authority of Manu; since the Veda itself declares that "Whatever Manu pronounced was a medicine for the soul".— (Sir William Jones *Works*, Vol. VII, p. 83).

- 8. One January 14, 1830, a representation to Lord Bentinck against the prohibition of *Suttee* was made under the signature of over a thousand citizens including :

Maharaja Girish Chandra Roy Bahadur,	Raja Radhakanta Deb,
Maharaja Shib Kissein Roy Bahadur.	Babu Gopi Mohan Deb,
Maharaja Kali Kissein Roy Bahadur,	Babu Ramgopal Mullick,
Maharaja Gour Ballav Roy Bahadur,	Babu Prankissan Biswas,
	Babu Radhamadhab Banerjee

besides more than a hundred Sanskrit Pundits. The signature of one very important man, Dewan Ram Kamal Sen, was not there. On further scrutiny it was found that Ram Kamal Sen, though he did not put signature, supported the representation, for, we find that in the inaugural meeting of the Dharma Sabha, as Chairman, he said :

“according to the orders of the Governor-General, an appeal must be made to His Majesty relative to the regulations forbidding *Suttee*”

The meeting established the Dharma Sabha on February 6, 1830 and elected the following as committee members :

Maharaja Kali Kissein Bahadur,	Ram Kamal Sen,
Maharaja Ashutosh Dey,	Ramgopal Mullik,
Maharaja Gokulnath Mullik,	Gopi Mohan Deb,
Raja Radhakanta Deb,	Tarini Churn Mitra.

We find elsewhere that—According to the orders on 2nd August 1830, Dharma Sabha met and Ram Kamal Sen said :

“All the members have equally laboured in the establishment of the society and in the promoting of its chief object, the despatch of the petition to England.....”

The Governor-General forwarded the representation to the Council in London. The appeal was heard by the Privy Council and was rejected on July 11, 1833. This was the final seal on the abolition.

9. His authoritative work is “Collet : Raja Rammohun Roy”.

Indigo Trade and Land-Ownership by Europeans

INDIGO cultivation and trade in India played a substantial role in the activities carried on by Europeans specially those of the East India Company. It is said that the Europeans carried on this cultivation with certain inherent advantages and the Indian cultivators were, as a result, put to a serious disadvantage. The European cultivators were altogether in a much favourable position belonging to the ruling class. Besides, they had a superior technical skill which gave them distinct advantage both in quality and in quantity and, in other words, it virtually worked against the Indian cultivators. It was further contended by the Indian cultivators that they were being ill-treated in various ways.¹ When complaints became quite serious Rammohun watched the situation for some time and found that to some extent the Indian cultivators' grievances were genuine, because differential treatment by the local authorities was pronounced. Further, the fact of heart-burning was also there—the indigenous farmers produced much less than the European farmers and this again was due to lack of technical skill and stamina on the part of the Indian farmers. But assessing the entire performance, the Indian farmers improved a lot by competition. Both Rammohun and Dwarkanath Tagore found that their condition had much improved² on the whole. Rammohun wrote :

I am positively of opinion that on the whole indigo planters have done more essential good to the natives of Bengal than any other class of persons. This is a fact which I will not hesitate to affirm whenever I may be questioned on the subject either in India or in Europe. I, at the same time, must confess that there are individuals of that class of society who, either from hasty disposition or want of due discretion, have proved obnoxious to those who expected milder treatment from them. But, my dear sir, you are well aware that no general good can be effected without some partial evil, and in this instance, I am happy to say that the former greatly preponderates over the latter. If any class of the natives would gladly see them all turned out of the country, it would be the zamindars in general since in many instances the planters have successfully protected the ryots against the tyranny and oppression of their landlords.

Dwarkanath Tagore observed similarly :

.. I have several zamindaries in various districts and I have found the cultivation of Indigo and residence of Europeans have considerably benefited the country and the community at large; the zamindars are becoming wealthy and prosperous the ryots materially improved in their condition and possessing many more comforts than the generality of my countrymen where indigo cultivation and manufacture is not carried on.....I do not make these statements merely from hearsay; but from personal observation and experience as I have visited.....

It is well known that the peasants had been carrying on indigo cultivation from a long time past in different places specially Bengal,³ particularly near Malda, in Bihar near Tirhoot and in U.P. near Benares, Agra, etc. Its production in those places was small, only as much as was required for internal consumption because Indian farmers did not know the technique by which it could be made sufficiently attractive and profitable for European countries to import. Indigo was one of the rare tropical products and its various uses and potentialities were known only to European traders. The Portuguese,

after they discovered the sea route to the Indies, began to import it and after necessary processing marketed it in quantities for the whole of Europe. But this monopoly was destroyed by the Dutch who were again followed closely on their heels by the English. The East India Company eventually became its chief importer for Europe. However, the East India Company was not able for long to compete with the West Indies planters and hence they had to abandon the trade. Not long after, the West Indies planters also gave up indigo cultivation and trade in favour of more profitable cultivation of sugarcane and coffee. But some time after, the East India Company again took to exporting Indigo from India and by processing it, in the West Indies method, made it almost equal in quality with the finest West Indies product. Mention may be made that in 1783, it was Charles Grant who established, near Gaur (once the capital of Bengal) a big plantation to produce good quality indigo. This was done with a view to exporting to Europe after processing the dye. Hence a big establishment grew, with a very large number of peasants recruited from among those badly hit by the decline of the weaving industry of Bengal. Grant's capital investment was quite high and production also was considerable. In 1800, it is recorded, 40,000 maunds of Indigo were exported in England.⁴ Since the trade was in full swing, the planters naturally desired to own lands that were growing indigo and the planters were even willing to settle in India. And so it happened that :

In 1823, Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, enabled planters to recover, by summary suit, advances made to ryots. The planter was also given a lien on any crops produced on land for which he had given indigo-advances and was protected against the interference of zamindars..... Amherst first opened the doors to the leasing of lands to Europeans in 1824 when he authorised coffee growers, and soon afterwards cotton and sugar-cane planters, to take lease of lands in the interior of India.

The British planters made a petition to Parliament in 1827 to throw open the indigo cultivation and trade by removing restrictions upon foreigners in the matter of owning lands in

the country. The English liberals approved this move in the interest of expansion of trade and, presumably also, of spreading in the country Christian influence. Why the conservative section of the English community and, in particular, Dr. Bryce, Editor of *John Bull*, did not like this move is not clear. Bryce, in fact, became specially critical of the liberals in England. This opposition brought conservative Christians and orthodox Hindus to the same platform. Both *John Bull* and *Samachar Chandrika* carried on agitation against the removal of restrictions. The case of orthodox Hindus, was understandable since they feared that by this means, the native landholders would slowly begin to lose their land. The orthodox Hindus went ahead to petition to Parliament against this colonisation in March, 1829. Thus a controversy arose. Rammohun wanted that the native farmers should stand united and carry on improved agriculture on European models to increase their efficiency in which case only, the Indian farmers would be able to hold their lands for themselves and also to improve their indigo to the extent that it may become easily exportable. If colonisation was not allowed, the secret technique for making indigo upto the requisite standard would not be known. It was Rammohun who gave adequate thoughts to this matter about the urgency of quick agricultural and industrial development through the help of the foreigners. To explain Bryce's attitude against colonisation, one may surmise that he wanted to avoid the mixing up of European and Indian blood and thus degrade such Eurasians to a lower level in the society.

Francis, a member of the Council of the Governor-General, wrote a note about the owning of lands. The renewal of the Charter in 1833 gave the first incentive for starting plantations deep in the dense forests of different regions.

The fate of the indigo trade passed through many vicissitudes, due to competition from the West Indies but more pointedly due to the conditions of the European and American markets and finally the emergence of synthetic indigo in Europe. Within 25/30 years of Rammohun's death, indigo cultivation in Bengal became distinctly unremunerative⁵ as was indicated by the Lt. Governor of Bengal, J.P. Grant :

.....who opened his discussion with a statement that from its inception the system of indigo production in lower Bengal had been unsound...thus Grant opposed the indigo system of lower Bengal because it violated a fundamental law of free enterprise, the right of the seller to determine the price of his goods. These ryots are not Carolina slaves but the free yeomanry of this country.....and the virtual owners of the greater part of the land.....

After reading Grant's Minute of December 17, 1880, Wood wrote to Grant :

It is a most able document and completely establishes the case as between planter and ryots. I am very sorry for the individual planter who will suffer by the change of the system; but that such a system should go on is quite impossible.

It can be safely presumed that Grant's Minute referred to his own time or to a period immediately earlier. Since Ram-mohun had an altogether different idea about the cultivation-cost of indigo, there must have been factors in his time which provided sufficient scope for profits.⁶

It is obvious that the indigo disturbances in India of the fifties were unrelated to earlier conditions and were brought about by the bad effects of the land economy that had come to prevail subsequently. It is also just likely that the accumulated grievances of the landholders and farmers found a convenient outlet on the pretext of the indigo conditions.

For the first time, the zamindars and the ryots of Bengal felt united against the planters. The problem of industry became a subordinate issue to the racial animosity, which was aroused and which had increased to a high degree, ultimately bringing about Indigo Mutiny in 1859-60. This gave the first glimpse of unity of landholders and farmers of Bengal which began to spread to other production centres all over India.

Bengal, strictly speaking, had scarcely felt the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, as no economic issues were involved in it, nor the

ideals of freedom, while the violation of Hindu purity did not interest Bengal. In the indigo conflict of 1859, however, some vital economic issues had arisen. It was an important event which marked economic exploitation of foreigners in rural Bengal at a time when the indigo industry was no more profitable under changed circumstances.

The unity achieved in Bengal had to be, by its nature, temporary, being directed against the Britishers more by self-interest of the zamindars (they felt directly threatened in their comfortable position) than anything else. Though the ryots in many cases must have been benefited from the profits of indigo ventures here and there, still silence had been maintained very judiciously. One direct effect of the unity was the prospect it opened up of an understanding between Indians and sympathetic Europeans. This happened after Dinabandhu Mitra, a reputed literary man wrote in Bengali *Nil Darpan* in denunciation of the treatment meted out to the native cultivators. The book created sensation for its severely caustic commentaries on the role of the planters. The book was translated into English by the renowned poet Madhusudan Dutta. The English version was distributed even amongst the Government servants. When Government brought a case against the men responsible for the translation, one Rev. Long, a social worker, got implicated.⁷ He was fined by the Court Rs. 1000 (which was paid on the spot by Long's Indian friends) and sentenced to one month's detention in jail. This created a great stir in Calcutta, and also in England. Long was already known as a friend of India but with this incident a new understanding began to grow between Indians and Englishmen.

All said about indigo cultivation and trade, one thing remains undisputed which Lord Bentinck emphasised as follows :

...I am assured that much of the agricultural improvement which many of our districts exhibit may be directly traced to the indigo planters therein settled; and that as a general truth, it may be stated (with the exceptions which, in morals, all general truths require to be made), that every

factory is in its degree the centre of a circle of improvement, raising the persons employed in it, and the inhabitants of the immediate vicinity, above the general level. The benefit of the individual cases may not be considerable, but it seems to be sufficient to show what might be hoped from a more liberal and enlightened system.....

NOTES

1. It is said that European planters in the interior of the country were far more arrogant with the European merchants, tradesmen, etc. in towns; but the planters, in spite of their arrogance, were generally helpful and hence not much disliked by the Indian farmers. But the native zamindars thoroughly disliked the planters as their formidable rivals and the zamindars were never popular due to their general apathy to the ryots.
2. Enquiries were made about the agitation of the ryots engaged in indigo plantation, specially by a Committee of the House of Lords in 1830. While the balance of evidence goes to show that generally speaking the indigo planters were not oppressing the ryots but individual instances of treatment were not infrequent.
3. Large scale indigo plantation began in Bengal in 1779, (N.K. Sinha : *Economic History of Bengal*). Upto 1824, there was a Bengal Government ban on Europeans holding agricultural lands in the interior of the country except in special cases. But later on, the Charter of 1833 allowed them to own lands in the interior also. This opened new avenues for British Commercial enterprises.
4. The export of Indian indigo on a large scale dates from about 1790. From then on its cultivation greatly increased and in the early years of the 19th century the annual value of indigo exports was between two and three million pounds sterling, while over one and a half million pounds sterling was reportedly paid each year by the planters in respect of rent of lands under its cultivation and by way of wages for labour.
5. A Bigha of land under indigo cultivation brought to the planter about Rs. 12, out of which the ryot received Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ and the cost of manufacture per bigha came to about Rs. 2, the total cost to the planter therefore being Rs. $4\frac{1}{2}$. From the balance of Rs. $7\frac{1}{2}$ the following had to be deducted as expenses of the planter : rent, legal charge, interest on loan, salaries, repairs, etc. It became an unpopular crop by the mid-nineteenth century.

6. There were sufficient profits out of which the "amount annually paid for rent and labour by British planters was £ 1680000", i.e., Rs. 25,200,000.—(R.C. Dutt : *Economic History of India*).
7. An address signed by 30,000 Indians of all classes was presented to the Rev. Long. During one month in jail he was visited by a large number of important men including missionaries, chaplains, liberal non-officials and officials like Frero, Seton Kerr, Lord Ulick Brown, Registrar of Sadar Court, Erskine of the legislative council and Judge Mcleod Wylie of Calcutta, etc. From jail Long wrote to the Church Missionary Society in London that he had acted throughout on the advice of Duff and Wylie and with the sanction of the Bengal Government and insisted that he had committed no moral offence in throwing light on Indian opinion. The excitement following Long's appreciation was so great that the Editor of a Bengali paper wrote : If this be Christianity, then we wish Christianity be spread all over the country.

European Colonisation for Rapid Development of India

THE long history of Europeans' owning land in the interior of India for agricultural purposes, leading ultimately to all round advancement of agriculture and industry, is a chequered one. Attempts at ownership of land began virtually in 1824 as has been indicated in the earlier chapter. It started with indigo and coffee plantations and later on it was thought that further advance could be made if circumstances were congenial both for the government as well as for the planters. It has already been said that big and small indigo undertakings were established by Europeans like Charles Grant who had one near Malda in 1783, and later on another planter, named Udny owned a big plantation of indigo and several other Europeans followed in smaller areas. The strong objections and resentment to Europeans owning lands in the interior came from all sections of Indian people in the beginning but later on not so much from the farmers¹ as from the large and wealthy land-holders who dominated and oppressed the helpless cultivators in different ways. These native land-holders found the European agriculturists as their strong rivals. The Indian farmers very soon came to realise that they could learn a good deal from the European cultivators, though at times they got harsh treatment from them. This created conflicts and commotions at times.

In 1827 the citizens of Calcutta were called to a meeting in the Calcutta Town Hall with a view to press the Government for removal of all restrictions for their (Europeans) permanent place of work and stay so that both agricultural and commercial activities could be carried on with greater intensity and stake. It was argued that this would bring all round prosperity to Bengal and other places. They also considered the necessity of fully allowing many other tiems besides indigo and coffee. All this would be beneficial for all sections of people. The result of this meeting did not find support from the authorities in England. However, the situation in Bengal continued as before and the British elements in the interior continued their work with their usual ardour.

On January 28, 1829, the important Calcutta merchants submitted a memorial for extension and modification of the existing rules as a result of which Governor-General in Council adopted a resolution in February 1829 removing all restrictions complained against and withdrew some of the rigorous provisions of the Resolution of (May 7) 1824 as adopted to circumvent the inconveniences and troubles which would likely accrue from the presence of Europeans as land-holders among the native land-owning classes of India; this led to a petition in March 1829 from orthodox Hindus to Parliament.² The Governor-General's resolution with the Memorial was forwarded on 1.9.29 to the Court of Directors but the Court, by a letter of 8.7.29 already communicated to the Governor-General in Council their decision of sticking to the previous Resolution of the Government as passed on May 7, 1824 with its restrictive provisions, and directed them to the effect that "all rules laid down and all the securities provided by the resolution of the Government dated May 7, 1824 shall be strictly observed in the case of every permission granted to an European to hold land on lease for the purpose of cultivation." This is a directive opposing the liberal measures passed by the local Government in February 1829. A protest meeting was convened by the inhabitants of Calcutta, Indians and Europeans, in the Town Hall on December 15, 1829 in which Rammohun Roy, Dwarkanath Tagore and Prosonno Coomar Tagore took the lead, for

removal of all restrictions on colonisation by Europeans. The *India Gazette*, in all praise, remarked :

The strong and decided manner in which this resolution was enforced on the attention of the meeting by the mover, made a deep impression and will be long remembered. That such a resolution should be moved, seconded and supported exclusively by the natives, whose rights, it is considered by some, are especially endangered by the proposition it contained, was well arranged.....The support given to the resolution by these public-spirited and intelligent native gentlemen was cordial, clear, and convincing : and the facts they adduced deserve serious consideration of those who hitherto opposed.

At this time Bentinck was watching the events and appreciated the enthusiasm which Rammohun and his friends were showing in favour of Europeans' full participation on India's industrial efforts. He had however grave doubts about its beneficial working in its totality. Lord Bentinck wrote his famous Note³ (May 30, 1829) with good deal of force giving arguments, thoughtful observations and important details. In the beginning for some time, he entertained strong objections and grave doubts but towards the end, when the movement became quite strong, he felt that Rammohun and his followers were "entirely with those of the advanced thought of the age" and Lord Bentinck's Government at last became a convert. Now the sentiments of the Government were communicated to the authorities in England in the despatch dated 1st January, 1830, in reply to those of the Court dated 8th July, 1829. It was felt by all parties favourable to the scheme that some alteration of the laws and judicial institutions of the country was essential which would make all persons Europeans or natives residing in the interior of the country, subject to the same regulations and to the same local tribunals, civil and criminal. Lord Bentinck had observed the situation with considerable acuteness as can be seen below :

.....the Supreme Court, instead of standing isolated from the Government and from the local tribunals, should be

rendered a component part of our judicial establishments, the whole being remodelled, with many alterations, into one harmonious system; and the Government (in conjunction possibly with one or more of the King's judges) should be vested with power to legislate equally for all classes, Europeans and natives.

Lord Cornwallis who was strongly against relaxation of the restrictions imposed upon European settlement began to reconsider the question and agreed at last if judicial system was so revised and brought to suit the contemplated relaxation. (Parliamentary papers—H. C. 1831-32, Vol, VIII p. 377). When the top administrators were thus getting more and more inclined towards relaxation, it is significant that the British public opposed the proposed relaxation :

The evils apprehended were that a large influx of the people would take place, many of whom would ill-use and oppress the natives, violate their social and religious prejudices to such an extent as might drive them to rebel and expel the British from the country, degrade the British character, make a combination and drive the Government out of the country as was done in America, etc.

This shows what an objective view the Britishers could take on a crucial matter where British interests were vitally concerned. This also shows how cautious they were for self-preservation.

This brought the Court of Directors to a decided stand. The Court in their reply of April 6, 1831 wrote to the Governor-General of their inability to accept the recommendation to relax the restrictive condition against settlement of Europeans in the interior of the country. This being the decision, the resolution of May 7, 1824 remained the only one to regulate the grant of land to Europeans for cultivation of coffee, indigo and such other agricultural products. Thus Rammohun's progressive plan to develop the vast resources of the country got thwarted. Rammohun was then in England. Ever since his arrival there, Rammohun, among other things, made frantic efforts to obtain revision

of the Charter to his objectives in the new Charter. The main provision in the new Charter Act of 1833 was as follows :

provision to the effect that Europeans were free to settle in any part of the territories in the possession of the Company before 1800 without licence, but they were excluded from going to and settling in the territories obtained by the Company since that period where they could go and reside only upon licence from the local governments.

It was in July 1832 that Rammohun's famous document⁴ *Remarks on Settlement in India by Europeans* came up before Parliament (this document appeared in the General Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee). The document was produced with vision, faith and hope inspired by the highest thoughts of national importance. Some of his lines are worth quoting :

The same cause would operate to continue the connection between Great Britain and India on a solid and permanent footing; provided only the latter country be governed in a liberal manner, by means of Parliamentary superintendence and such other legislative checks in this country as may be devised and established. India may thus, for an unlimited period, enjoy union with England, and advantage of her enlightened Government; and in return contribute to support the greatness of this country.....If, however, events should occur to effect a separation between the two countries then still the existence of a large body of respectable settlers (consisting of Europeans and their descendants, professing Christianity, and speaking the English language in common with the bulk of the people, as well as possessed of superior knowledge, scientific, mechanical and political) would bring that vast Empire in the East to a level with other Christian countries in Europe, and by means of its immense riches and extensive population, and by the help which may be reasonably expected from Europe, they (the settlers and their descendants) may succeed sooner or later in enlightening and civilising the surrounding nations of Asia.

Rammohun saw equally clearly that with advancement in all directions, political independence would be within the range of possibility.

Rammohun : a Practical Visionary

One can see from the 14 points ("For" and "Against" colonisation), to what length Rammohun was determined to go, taking all risks, for achieving quick industrialisation with agricultural development on modern level. The idea is clear that he wanted to make India not only up-to-date but richer. Modernisation was not an abstract idea with him for he wanted India to be above poverty and to be on a line with other modern nations. Industrialisation goes a long way to modernise social and political outlook and that must have been his objective. For all this, Rammohun was not a dreamer for he always grappled with stern realities. He knew that more the country was industrialised, the more the people would be conscious and alert to the economic needs that surround them. This economic consciousness must bring the desired political hankering making self-government irresistible. A thoughtful practical worker knows no begging; he would be sure that as industrialisation would begin to take stride all-round consciousness would be inevitable and political freedom would come only then. This being his clear mental working, which Sandford Arnot knew, it is most regrettable that a sly remark was made as to why Rammohun did not make a demand to the British.

It will be unpardonable for anybody who has a sense of history to say to-day the same thing about Rammohun's not demanding Indian Legislature. Let it be pointed out with all emphasis at our command that even at a time as recent as that of Dadabhai Naoroji⁵ and Tilak⁶ or Congress⁷, the demand by them was far less than self-Government. From long ago Rammohun's preparations⁸ to win self-rule had been going on uninterrupted.

NOTES

- 1, It is said that European planters in the interior of the country were far more arrogant compared with the European merchants, tradesmen, etc. in towns; but the planters, in spite of their arrogance, were generally helpful and hence not much disliked by the farmers. But the native zamindars thoroughly disliked the planters as their formidable rivals and could never be popular due to their general apathy to the ryots.
2. Petition of the orthodox Hindus to Parliament against Colonisation March 1829 :

“That your petitioners are exceedingly aggrieved at learning that the British inhabitants of Calcutta have transmitted a petition to be presented to your honourable house praying among other things, for abolishing all the restrictions on the resort of British subjects to, and on their residence in India, in consequence of which your petitioners beg leave respectfully to lay before Parliament their grievances for consideration and redress.

That your petitioners are under great alarm, and humbly declare that if Europeans (who are not subject to the jurisdiction of the country courts), be allowed to settle in Hindustan, without any restriction, they would spread all over the country and injure the stability of this empire; for which reason the local Government in India was pleased to pass Regulation 38 of 1798, directly that ‘No European, of whatever nation or description, shall purchase, or occupy, directly or indirectly, any land out of the limits of the town of Calcutta, without the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, and all persons now so holding land beyond the limits of Calcutta, without having obtained such permission in opposition to the repeated prohibitions of government, or who may hereafter so purchase, rent, or occupy land, shall be liable to be dispossessed of the land, at the discretion of the Governor-General in Council, nor shall they be entitled to any indemnification for building which they may have erected, or other account’.

That in the districts where the indigo-planters and others have in a manner settled themselves, the people are more injured and distressed than in other parts of the country, in consequence of such indigo planters taking possession of land by force, sowing indigo by destroying rice-plant (which is the cause of diminution in the produce of rice. and dearth of the articles of consumption), detaining cattle of, and exhorting money from, poor individuals, whose frequent complaints induced the India government to pass Regulation 6 of 1823; nevertheless, if they be permitted to hold any zamindari, or landed property here, the native zamindars and their ryots must be unavoidably ruined.

That the natives of India, particularly those whose rank or superiority of caste, according to the usage of their tribe or religion, prevents them from going to other divisions of the globe for employment, and from doing any beniel duty, work or trade, have no means of supporting their rank, nor of obtaining any public situation in their native country, the only office of dewan which was left for them, has since been abolished, in consequence of which they have no other means to subsist on than their landed property, which is neither absolutely secure, owing to the enforcement of several regulations of government, especially of Regulations I of 1818, II of 1819 and XI of 1825. Under these circumstances should their real estate (which is subject to public sale for the recovery of arrears of revenue & etc.) be allowed to be purchased by foreigners, they would inevitably labour under great distress and difficulty for the necessities of life and for the preservation of their rank and character." (J.K. Majumdar : *Progressive Movements in India*—p. 432)

3. Extract from Lord William Bentinck's Minute of May 30, 1829 :

".....In the last despatch in the Commercial Department from the India House, dated 3rd September, 1828, the Court declared that they are at last obliged to abandon the only remaining portion of the trade in cotton manufactures, both in Bengal and Madras, because through the intervention of powerlooms the British goods have a decided advantage in quality and in price. Cotton piecegoods, for so many ages the staple manufacture of India, seem thus forever lost. The Dacca muslins, celebrated over the whole world for their beauty and fineness, are also annihilated. But is the silk trade likely long to escape equal ruin? In the same despatch, the Court describes the great depression of price which this article sustained in consequence of the diminished cost of the raw material in England and of the rivalry of British silk handkerchiefs. The sympathy of the Court is deeply excited by the report of the Board of Trade, exhibiting the gloomy picture of the effects of a commercial revolution, productive of so much present suffering to numerous classes in India, and hardly to be paralleled in the history of commerce.

".....To those who so feelingly deplore the misery of the Indian manufacturers, it will be consolatory to know that a prospect exists of better days, with a hope also that her staple commodity, the cotton manufacture, may still be rescued from annihilation, Mr. Patrick, an Englishman, is at the moment erecting a very large manufactory for the spinning of cotton twist by machinery, to be moved by steam; and it is not irrelevant from the object of the present paper to observe, that these great works are erecting upon his own estate, held in fee simple, under a grant from Warren Hastings. Hitherto the Bengal cotton has been held unfit for conversion into twist, but an improved kind has been lately cultivated, which it is supposed will be quite fit for the purpose. An improved species of tobacco, and likely

to vie with that of America. To whom again is the commerce of India indebted for these new resources in her commercial distress? To Englishmen only, is the triumphant answer.....

“India offers no advantage to the European who has only his labour to bring to market. In providing himself with the comforts necessary to his existence, he must here expend a sum that would much more than purchase an equivalent of native labour; and the comparative value of the latter must increase with improved skill and knowledge. In agriculture, the chief branch of national industry and that on which the population mainly depends, it is impossible to economise labour to the same extent as in manufacture; especially where a tropic sun and periodical rains exert so powerful an effect on the vegetable world. And the climate must, in almost all our districts, confine the European husbandman to the work of general superintendence. In all branches of industry, indeed, it is European capital, skill and example which India requires, and for which he offers a market. European labour is not wanted, and could not be maintained. The settlers therefore must be men of capital and skill.....

“With the above sentiments, I must of course feel most anxious that the state of the law should be so amended as to oppose no obstacle to the settlement of British subjects in the interior. It is clear that if any large number of that class become proprietors of land or reside for other purposes at a distance from the Presidency, many serious inconveniences may be experienced, unless they be subject, with the rest of the inhabitants, to the authority of the local courts. The defects in the legislative provisions relative to civil suits must therefore be amended. The jurisdiction of the criminal tribunals now confined to trespass and assault must be extended. The doubts that attach to both branches must be removed. It would be the height of absurdity to argue, from the inefficiency of our existing institutions, against the admission of Europeans. The remedy, it is clear, is not the exclusion of these, but the reform of the system.

“Further, it appears to be no less evident that the authority to be exercised by the Supreme Court should be better defined, and its process regulated. How this can be best done I do not now propose to discuss.” (J.K. Majumdar : *Progressive Movements in India*, pp. 414-424).

4. Rammohun's *Remarks on Settlement in India by Europeans* July 14, 1832 (London): In this short pamphlet written while in England Rammohun enumerated the advantages and disadvantages of the scheme :

Advantages

A. "European settlers in India will introduce the knowledge they possess of superior modes of cultivating the soil and improving its products (in the article of sugar, for example), as has already happened with respect to indigo, and improvements in the mechanical arts, and in the agricultural and commercial systems generally, by which the natives would of course benefit.

B. By a free and extensive communication with the various classes of the native inhabitants the European settlers would gradually deliver their minds from the superstitions and prejudices, which subjected Indians to social inconvenience, disqualifying them from useful exertions.

C. The European settlers being more on a par with the rulers of the country, and aware of the rights belonging to the subjects of a liberal Government, and the proper mode of administering justice, would obtain from the local Government, or from the Legislature in England, the introduction of many necessary improvements in the laws and judicial system, the benefit of which would of course extend to the inhabitants whose conditions would thus be raised.

D. The presence, countenance and support of the European settlers would not only afford to the natives protection against the impositions and oppression of their land-lords and other superiors, but also against any abuse of power on the part of those in authority.

E. The European settlers, from motives of benevolence, public spirit and fellow-feeling towards their native neighbours, would establish schools and other seminaries of education for the cultivation of the English language throughout the country, and for diffusion of a knowledge of European arts and sciences; whereas at present the bulk of the natives (those residing at the Presidencies and some large towns excepted) have no more opportunities of acquiring the means of national improvement than if the country had never had any intercourse or connections whatever with Europe.

F. As the intercourse between the settlers and their friends and connections in Europe would greatly multiply the channels of communication with this country, the public and the Government here would become much more correctly informed, and consequently much better qualified to legislate on Indian matters than at present, when, for any authentic information, the country is at the mercy of the representations of comparatively a few individuals, and those chiefly the parties who have the management of public affairs in their hands, and who can

hardly fail therefore to regard the result of their own labours with a favourable eye.

G. In the event of an invasion from any quarter, east or west, Government would be better able to resist it, if, in addition to the native population, it were supported by a large body of European inhabitants, closely connected by national sympathies with the ruling power, and dependent on its stability for the continued enjoyment of their civil and political rights.

H. The same cause would operate to continue the connection between Great Britain and India on a solid and permanent footing, provided only the latter country be governed in a liberal manner, by means of Parliamentary superintendences, and such other legislative checks in this country as may be devised and established. India may thus, for an unlimited period, enjoy union with England, and the advantage of her enlightened Government, and in return contribute to support the greatness of this country.

I. If, however, events should occur to effect a separation between the two countries, then still the existence of a large body of respectable settlers (consisting of Europeans and their descendants, professing Christianity, and speaking the English language in common with the bulk of the people, as well as possessed of superior knowledge, scientific, mechanical and political) would bring the vast Empire in the east to a level with other large Christian countries in Europe, and by means of its immense riches and extensive population, and by the help which may be reasonably expected from Europe, they (the settlers and their descendants) may succeed sooner or later in enlightening and civilizing the surrounding nations of Asia."

Disadvantages

J. "The European settlers being a distinct race, belonging to the class of the rulers of the country, may be apt to assume an ascendancy over the aboriginal inhabitants, and aim at enjoying exclusive rights and privileges, to the depression of the larger but less favoured class; and the former being also of another religion, may be disposed to wound the feelings of the natives and subject them to humiliations on account of their being of a different creed, colour and habits.

As a remedy or preventive of such a result, I would suggest, 1st., that as the higher and better educated classes of Europeans are known from experience to be less disposed to annoy and insult the natives than persons of lower class, European settlers, for the first twenty years at least, should be from among educated persons of character and capital since such persons are very seldom, if ever, found guilty of

intruding upon the religious or national prejudices of persons of uncultivated minds; 2nd., the enactment of equal laws, placing all classes on the same footing as to civil rights, and the establishment of trial by jury (the jury being composed impartially of both classes), would be felt as a strong check on turbulent or overbearing characters among Europeans.

K. The second probable disadvantage is as follows : the Europeans possess an undue advantage over the natives, from having readier access to persons in authority, these being their own countrymen, as proved by long experience in numerous instances, therefore a large increase of such a privileged population must subject the natives to many sacrifices from this very circumstance, I would therefore propose as a remedy, that in addition to the native vakeels, European pleaders should be appointed in the country courts in the same manner as they are in the King's courts at the Presidencies where the evil referred to is consequently not felt, because the counsel and attorneys for both parties, whether for a native or a European, have the same access to the judge, and are in all respects on an equal footing in pleading or defending the cause of their clients.

L. The third disadvantage to contemplation is, that at present the natives of the interior of India have little or no opportunity of seeing any Europeans except persons of rank holding public offices in the country, and officers and troops stationed in or passing through it under restraint of military discipline, and consequently those natives entertain a notion of European superiority, and feel less reluctance in submission; but should Europeans of all ranks and classes be allowed to settle in the country, the natives who came in contact with them will materially alter their estimate now formed of the European character, frequent collisions of interests and conflicting prejudices may gradually lead to a struggle between the foreign and native race till either one or the other obtain a complete ascendancy, and render the situation of their opponents so uncomfortable that no government could mediate between them with effect, or ensure the public peace and tranquility of the country. Though this may not happen in the interior of Bengal, yet it must be kept in mind, that no inference drawn from the conduct of the Bengalees (whose submissive disposition and want of energy are notorious) can be applied with justice to the natives of the Upper Provinces, whose temper of mind is directly, the reverse. Among the spirited race the jarings above alluded to must be expected, if they be subjected to insult and intrusion.....a state of things which would ultimately weaken, if not entirely undermine, the British power in India, or at least occasion much bloodshed from time to time to keep the natives in subordination.

The remedy already pointed out.(para. 3rd, art. 1st, remedy 1st) will however also apply to this case, that is, the restriction of the European

settlers to the respectable intelligent class already described, who in general may be expected not only to raise the European character still higher, but also to emancipate their native neighbours from the long standing bondage of ignorance and superstition, and thereby secure their affection, and attach them to the government under which they may enjoy the liberty and privileges so dear to persons of enlightened minds.

M. Some apprehend, as the fourth probable danger, that if the population of India were raised to wealth, intelligence, and public spirit, by accession and by the example of numerous respectable European settlers, the mixed community so formed would revolt (as the United States of America formerly did) against the power of Great Britain, and would ultimately establish independence. In reference to this, however, it must be observed that the Americans were driven to rebellion by misgovernment, otherwise they would not have revolted and separated themselves from England. Canada is a standing proof that an anxiety to effect a separation from the mother country is not the natural wish of a people, even tolerably well ruled. The mixed community of India, in like manner, will feel no disposition to cut off its connection with England, which may be preserved with so much mutual benefit to both countries.....religion and manners.

N. The fifth obstacle is the way of settlement in India by Europeans is that the climate in many parts of India may be found destructive, or at least very pernicious to European constitution, which might oblige European families who may be in possession of the means to retire to Europe to dispose of their property to disadvantage or leave it to ruin, and that they would impoverish themselves instead of enriching India. As a remedy I would suggest that many cool and healthy spots could be selected and fixed upon as the Head-quarters of the settlers—(where they might reside and superintend the affairs of their estates in the favourable season, and occasionally visit them during the hot months, if their presence be absolutely required on their estates), such as the Nielgherry Hills.....(J.K. Majumdar : *Progressive Movements in India*, pp. 457-460).

5. Naoroji once wrote to Winsol : "I am a warm Home-Ruler for Ireland but neither myself nor any other Indian is asking for any such Home Rule for India...Our demands are far more moderate—in fact only a further development of existing institutions (the Legislative Council). (quoted in Francis Robinson : *Muslim Separatism*, p. 280.)
6. When Tilak appeared before the Public Service Commission he agreed that most of the top posts in the Civil Service must be kept for English-

men. (quoted in Francis Robinson : *Muslim Separatism*, p. 280).

7. Congress resolved that the voters should be men of education and property. It may also be noted that in Hume's plan for an electoral college there was no mention of the rural population. (quoted in Francis Robinson : *Muslim Separatism*, p. 280).
8. This stress came in from Rammohun.

Bengali Prose and Rammohun's Contribution

SOME Portuguese living in Bengal (specially in East Bengal) cultivated the Bengali language seriously and wrote some Bengali prose. These persons were mostly natives of the soil and they made such efforts as early as in the 17th century when engaged also in trading activities all over East Bengal and also in other parts. It was due to them that a few clergymen were able to give some shape to the Bengali prose. Thus in general, Bengali prose began with Manoel, Bento and Forster before it came to the scrutiny of Halhead and Carey. It is difficult to say who amongst these took European names on conversion or who retained the original names. A specimen of their prose writings in the early years of 17th century is given in *Appendix I*.

Towards the end of the 18th century, Thomas, a doctor, was one of the first Britishers to come to Bengal. This was in 1783. It was he who made the Baptist Mission known to Bengal but after a few years' stay and, having picked up a fair amount of knowledge of Bengali, returned to England in 1792. There he took great interest in sending some clergymen to Bengal, which, he thought would be a good ground for spreading Christianity though he realised that there were difficulties such as Pitt's translating 1784 which forbade emigration to India without

the British Government's permission. Thomas met William Carey and they decided on emigrating to India but their proposal was turned down by the British Government. Since they still wanted to come to India, they were left with no choice except to take a non-British vessel and run the risks of secretly disembarking at Serampore, then a Danish settlement, if they could reach it without being detected. Thomas and Carey made frantic efforts. They finally found a Danish boat which brought them to India in 1793. Thus Thomas and Carey came out to India without the official backing of any established mission. Carey's financial condition being very bad, he decided to live in a small place and, after some changes, came to Madnabati in Malda where he brought over his family. Carey had already picked up some Bengali while in England and practised it on the boat with Thomas. Some years later, in 1799, Marshman and Ward came to Serampore, equally secretly, but with the approval of the Baptist Mission of London. They came to India with the full knowledge that the British Government would not allow them to preach either for conversion purposes or for imparting any kind of secular training to the native population. A study of the Government's intentions and the steps adopted by it against the Missionaries preaching Christianity would be very instructive and illuminating in order to know the then British Policy. Rammohun was then in his early twenties.

Carey joined Marshman and Ward (by coming to Serampore. Since they were forbidden to carry on conversion work in British India, they confined their work to their own settlement devoting all their time to Bible translation, first, into Bengali and then into the other languages of India. With the ceaseless efforts of Carey the first Bengali translation of Bible came out in 1801. Thus with the Serampore mission under Carey started "the first campaign for spreading Bengali press amongst the common people of Bengal through the Bible", stressing the rightful place of the mother tongue of the Bengalees and virtually relegating Sanskrit to the learned classes. The same Carey, holding the Chair of Bengali language (and for the other Indian spoken tongues like Hindi, Oriya, Urdu, etc.) under the head-teacher Mrityunjay

(1762-1809)¹. It was largely on Carey's inspiration that Mrityunjay, Golaknath, Chandicharan, Ramram Basu, Tarini-charan wrote their books. The earliest Books in Bengali prose (1801-1815) were :

- 1801 *Hitopodesh* by Golaknath Sharma
Raju Pratapaditya Charita by Ramram Basu
Bangla Vyakaran (in English) by Carey
New Testament by Carey and *Dialogue* by Carey
- 1802 *Batrish Sinhasan* by Mrityunjay Vidyalankar
Lipimala by Ramram Basu
Kirtibash Ramayana 1st Canto by Carey
Kashiram's Mahabharat by Carey
- 1803 *Oriental Fabulist* Tarini Charan Mitra
- 1805 *Tota Itihas* by Chandicharan Munshi
Maharaj Krishnachandra Roy by Rajib Lochan Mukhopadhyaya
- 1807 *Old Testament* (from Hebrew) by Carey
- 1808 *Hitopodesh* by Ramkishore Tarkalankara
Hitopodesh by Mrityunjay Vidyalankara
Rajabali by Mrityunjay Vidyalankara
- 1812 *Itihasmala*
- 1814 *Purusha-Pariksha* by Haraprasad Roy
- 1815 *Vedanta Grantha* by Rammohun Roy
Vedanta-Sar by Rammohun Roy

Thus it will be seen that the Baptist Mission at Serampore, under William Carey, was utilising early Bengali press for translating the Bible and for preaching purposes. Later on the

same work of translation was also carried on at Fort William College in Calcutta, under the same William Carey who set up a section for Bengali and allied languages. They not only studied Bengali language and grammar but were engaged also in writing simple books on history and literary subjects. Both the Serampore Mission and Fort William College were doing all this in their own interest, still the fact remains that in the process the Bengali language acquired some refinements and was enriched with improvisations though some of these were not easily intelligible and some were far removed from local usages. However, during this period upto 1814, Mrityunjay emerged as the best prose writer of that time though his style at most times was stilted and often full of unknown and uncouth words. On occasion he was quite colloquial and then he was distinctly good. In *Batrish Sinhasan* his language marked an improvement with sentences becoming less involved.

Early Bengali prose style in the writings of both Mrityunjay and Rammohun was involved—the former's prose much more Sanskritic, heavy and complicated varying with the subject matter and the adjectives and the qualifying clauses did not come in an easy and meaningful way, and the result was that his prose did not have any flow. Rammohun's writings were much more easy but these also at times took a complicated shape, yet on the whole, it had a neatness and a flow which made the meaning sufficiently expressive. This was bound to be—for Mrityunjay was so engrossed in his reading and writing of Sanskrit texts and literature that he never felt attracted spontaneously towards Bengali language and its simplification; on the other hand, Rammohun loved the Bengali language—a common people's simple language as was emerging from unnecessary grammatical complications into a simple vehicle of ordinary expression. Rammohun realised that for both the elite and the masses a simpler language, as it was taking shape, would play a great role in the future. Since Mrityunjay was a Sanskrit scholar and had no vision of the future, he never understood or felt the future possibilities of a simpler language; on the contrary, he looked upon the Bengali language with a sneer and even described it as a corrupt woman "a naked and prostituted female." It is no wonder that

Mrityunjay's standard of Bengali did not rise nor any deliberate efforts were made in that direction. [See Appendix 2(a)]

For the first time, a very hard subject was taken up for translation into Bengali by Rammohun and his translation of Vedanta and Upanishads came out (1815 and after) in fairly good prose considering the terseness of the subject. The writings have, in many places, kept to the idiomatic usage but elsewhere became quite complicated. It is interesting and also surprising that his power of analysis was so strong. Thus we find that in his first Bengali work *Vedanta Grantha*, he described the precautions and discussed the limitations of the contemporary Bengali prose as follows :

- (i) One should very carefully make out the beginning and the end of each sentence; (ii) Wherever one finds such words as 'when', 'which', 'as', etc., one should, before proceeding to the end of the sentence, carefully connect them with the corresponding correlatives 'then', 'that', 'so' etc.; (iii) One should never admit a sentence to be complete and attempt to understand its meaning, until one has found the finite verb of the sentence; (iv) The particular noun (nominative) with which each particular verb agrees should also be very carefully found out, because very often a single sentence contains a number of nouns and a number of verbs, and the meaning (of the sentence) cannot be correctly gathered without finding out which of these (nouns and verbs) are mutually related.

This shows that Rammohun used his scientific vision to observe the difference between the structure of Bengali composition and that of Sanskrit composition. This clear understanding and formation of grammatical principles at that early stage, clearly brings out his extraordinary insight. It should be remembered that Rammohun set to himself this stupendous task of discussing the terse metaphysical and philosophical matters while others wrote on popular historical tales, sketches and fables which, in comparison, was a simple work requiring largely a descriptive style without any complicated thought.

Rammohun's work has been given due recognition by the eminent philologist Prof. Sukumar Sen of Calcutta :

"Rammohun has the unique honour of being the first literary writer of Bengali prose, being the first to use Bengali prose as the vehicle of expression of higher thought and philosophy. Considering the state of contemporary Bengali prose, it was a very great achievement, and it showed the immense possibilities in store for the Bengali language and literature of the future.

Rammohun did a stupendous task. In his hands the language gradually became more refined with easier words and easier composition until we find in his *Sambad Kaumudi* an impressively refined Bengali prose, so much so, that some of it was published and included in 1871 in the selection for Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University and these formed part of the selection entitled *Bangiya Pathabalee*. Indeed, Rammohun simplified and improved the Bengali prose very notably and very considerably. [See Appendix 2(b)]

Punctuation in Bengali

Rammohun introduced the use of punctuation mark at the end of a complete sentence and also adopted comma but did not take other western punctuation marks. All others came in later years with Vidysagar, Akshoy Dutta, etc. Rammohun also tried to avoid too much use of parenthesis. Sukumar Sen's admirable philological analysis of Rammohun's language brings out the latter's unique contribution. To quote him again, one has to say that Rammohun released Bengali prose for the first time from the complicated chains of classical languages both Sanskrit and Persian :

It was Rammohun who transformed the newly-born, amorphous, ungainly, immobile Bengali prose into a decent, pliable, powerful and vigorous vehicle of higher thought and expression, and thereby laid the foundation-stone of future Bengali prose literature.....When we consider all these achievements of Rammohun in field of Bengali literature

and language, the least we can say is that without him, Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra and Rabindranath would not have been possible.

Rammohun's word-constructions, sentence-constructions, all followed a logical order which was the grammar of the language. In course of time he brought out a Bengali grammar in English (1826) for the special use of the Europeans and followed it up by one in Bengali (which had not existed till then, there being only the Sanskrit grammar of Panini). The credit for the urge for writing a Bengali grammar goes to the School Book Society which had been constituted by the Government for educational advancement. Published in 1833 when he was in England, the grammar showed Rammohun's careful study, serious thinking, analysis and methodical presentation. Within a short time, it went through four editions without much alteration. It was a praiseworthy attempt.

To assess fully the position, one must remember that Bengali was sandwiched between Sanskrit and Persian. Even this is not a sufficiently correct description because Bengali poetry developed very early, a spontaneity of its own and its flow was maintained independently. For the three preceding centuries (Kirtibas at the beginning of 15th Century, Bharat Chandra at the beginning of 18th Century and Iswar Gupta at the beginning of the 19th Century) Bengali poetry had been developing steadily its own career. There is no doubt that poetry developed more naturally (in all literatures of the world) because of one reason at least, viz., more or less easy subjects it deals in. Rammohun's prose, on the other hand, tackled the most abstruse philosophical, religious and metaphysical topics.

What has already been stated is the fact that Rammohun could see at that early stage that the Bengali language constructionally differed from Sanskrit. The easier and more natural process of construction in the Bengali prose was followed by all subsequent masters like Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Akshoy Kumar Dutta and others who made the flow of the language easier. Vidyasagar also did a great service by writing in Bengali a popular grammar (based on Sanskrit

grammar) which facilitated subsequent studies of Sanskrit in Bengal. In the same way Akshoy Kumar Dutta produced an enormous literature in Bengali through the *Tattwabodhini Patrika* and left a mark on the development of Brohmo ideas and the ideals of Brahma Samaj of that crucial times in collaboration with Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore.

Vidyasagar's leanings towards Sanskrit structure even in its archaic form (conveying complex ideas in the shortest form) became a subject of ridicule in Tekchand Thakur's *Allaler-gharer-Dulal* (1858) and Kali Sinha's *Hutum Pechar Naksha* (1862). These two books were written in the spoken Bengali as distinct from the high-flown variety of it. But this language again was too simplified. Within five years, Bankim Chatterjee appeared with his powerful pen which took no notice of Sanskritised Bengali but took up the current style and further improved its flow. For a considerable period Bankim completely seized the literary field which had already been enriched by the writings of Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore, Keshav Chandra Sen and Akshay Kumar Dutta. Bankim's powerful intellect took him to many abstruse subjects and in the process Bengali language acquired vigour and precision. After some years appeared Rabindra Nath Tagore.

NOTES

1. Whatever Mrityunjay wrote as a teacher of Fort William College, was strictly speaking, confined within the College; it was meant only for civil service apprentices. The earliest fourteen Bengali books (all prose) were written under the direction of Carey. These were mainly for the purpose of teaching the young civilians, and they were meant for the Fort William College. These were historical sketches, fables or stories. Mrityunjay wrote Proboth Chandrika in 1813 which was published as late as in 1833 long after he died in 1819. It was largely a compilation from Sanskrit grammar, Alankara and the Puranas, and the book contained much refined as well as colloquial prose. It is widely held that during the intervening 20 years, the manuscript must have been polished and refined by his admirers. (The book was priced at Rs. 8, beyond the reach of common man).

Hindi Prose and Rammohun's Contribution

HINDI prose, like Bengali prose, is no less indebted to Rammohun. In the case of Bengali prose, he came somewhat late because the earlier period of his life was spent in quest of substantiation or otherwise of the Hindu practice in religious matters. Though late, his contribution was solid.

In case of Hindi prose in the Devanagri script, he came quite early. As a matter of fact he was one of the creators of Hindi prose in Devanagri script and his interest in Hindi was almost as much as in Bengali. In the midst of breathless activities, if he did not find time to translate more than five Upanishads in Hindi, even then his interest in Hindi was very strong. An indication of this was his decision to start a newspaper in Hindi language. The fact that he launched his newspaper in both Bengali and Hindi clearly demonstrated that he had a vision of India's future. In Benares, while learning Vedanta, he had to rely very much on Sanskrit. But through his day-to-day work, he picked up Hindi well enough to take to Hindi-writing and important translations. What was astounding was his foresight that Hindi would one day play an important role as the common language for all the people of India.

It will be useful at this stage to trace, in a general way, the origin of Hindi literary writings. Their detailed history is still not well known. But the modern Hindi prose may be said to have started around 1801 with Lalluji Lal¹ and his contemporary Sadal Misra² both of whom used the Devanagri script as against the Persian script which however had come to be employed earlier in 1783 by Sadasuklal, followed by another eminent writer by the name of Insanulla Khan in 1810. Then in 1815 appeared Rammohun, using the Devanagri script. Lalluji, Sadal Misra and Rammohun were thus the first to use the Devanagri. Both Lalluji and Sadal Misra were Hindi teachers attached to Fort William College; the former wrote a book called *Premasagar* and the latter *Nachiketopakhyan*. This work was commissioned by the college and hence, in no way can be taken as the spontaneous product of the writers. Though made-to-order, both these had sufficient merit. Spontaneous writing started with Rammohun and his predecessor Sadasuklal³ who should therefore be called pioneers in Hindi composition. Since Sadasukhlal wrote in Persian and Urdu, Rammohun can rightfully claim to have been the foremost in the making of Hindi prose.

Rammohun's fame rests also on the fact that he started the Hindi translations of Upanishads (Bengali and English versions too). It is unfortunate that the *Vedanta Grantha*⁴, *Vedanta-Sar* and *Subrahmanyar-Sahit-Bichar* and finally his articles in the Hindi newspapers were all in elegant Hindi free from grammatical errors. Lalluji, a contemporary of Rammohun, gratefully acknowledged the help he had received from Rammohun in different ways. A Gujrati brahmin of Agra, Lalluji developed Hindi writing along with Sadal Misra, a Bhojpuri-speaking scholar from Arrah, in an attractive prose style.

It has been stated also in the writing of Prof. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi⁵ (of Santiniketan, Bengal) that Sadasuklal wrote in Persian script, Lalluji in Devanagri, Sadal Misra in Devanagri, Insanullah Khan in Persian, Rammohun Roy in Devanagri. It will be observed from the above that Rammohun came as the third author in Hindi prose. It should also be observed that Rammohun wrote, out of his own urge, for the common

people while both Lalluji and Sadal Misra wrote for teaching purposes in the Fort William College and that too at the behest of the authorities.

It may be noted here that Tarini Charan Mitra, another Bengalee, wrote a book on Hindi composition though in Roman script, evidently for the benefit of the English-knowing readers. The same writer later brought out "Goladhyaya" in Hindi and this time in Devanagri script. So in the cradle days of modern Hindi, Bengalee writers⁶ played an important part.

It is equally necessary to point out here the significant role of the teachers of the Fort William College in the development of the Hindi language. William Carey had taken keen interest equally in Hindi and Bengali. It was Carey who entrusted the work of writing Hindi books to John Gilchrist who was a teacher of Hindi and Persian languages in the college (his two departmental chiefs, Brown and Buchanan, also were proficient in Bengali, Hindi, Purbi, Braja-bhasha). Since these books were meant for training the civil services employees, their impact was limited. In course of time, these books must have come out for the use of the public as Rammohun's had long ago. Rammohun's books were however of a different genre, concerned mostly with India's cultural and religious history while those of Fort William College were of a distinctly lower category, dealing with fables, historical sketches and old tales.

Among the earliest writers should be counted men like Ramprasad Niranjani⁷ and Pandit Daulatram, besides Sadasuklal. Their prose was much influenced by prevailing styles in Urdu and Bengali. Mention has already been made that Rammohun introduced much simpler Hindi in his translations of *Vedanta Grantha* and *Vedanta-Sar*. After 1820 when weekly journals *Bengali Herald* and *Banga-Doot* came out in English and Bengali, the Persian and Hindi versions also followed. One other Hindi newspaper took birth in Calcutta, in Amratolla Gulli, called *Udanta-Martanda* edited by Jugal Kishore of Kanpur. In 1753, a Bengali resident of Benares brought out

a Hindi paper called *Sudhakar* and still later, around 1800, Sadasuklal started from Agra *Buddhi-prakash*.

NOTES

1. Lalluji Lal (1763-1835) wrote *Premasagar* (1807), *Rajniya* (1800) and *Sabha-bilas* (1829); he was a teacher of Hindi in the Fort William College.
2. Sadal Misra (1768-1848) wrote *Nachiketopakhyan* (1801) in Khari-boli and several other books.
3. Sadasuklal Niyaz (1746-1824) wrote about six or seven Hindi Books in Persian and Urdu scripts including *Sukhasagar* in 1815 in Hindi Khari-boli (prevalent in Northern India) printed by Baburam Pandit, Kidderpur, Calcutta.
4. A copy of the Hindi translation of *Vedanta-Grantha* was traced by Pandit Khitimohan Sen Sastri in a friend's house at Mirzapur (U.P.).
5. See Prof. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi's article in the Rammohan Roy : Death Centenary Volume—1933.
6. Swami Krishnananda started a monthly journal in 1877 called *Dharma-pracharak* in Monghyr (Bihar). He edited it for 25 long years. It was bilingual journal with the right column in Bengali and the left in Hindi. It was he who wrote the first Hindi grammar in Bengali. But according to the *Bihar District Gazeteer, Monghyr 1960* (pp. 418-19) : "Paribrajaka Krishnananda Swami who as Krishnaprosanna Sen lived in Monghyr working for 12 years as a clerk in the railway workshop. He resigned in 1882 and had taken the religious order. He sponsored probably the first Hindi monthly in Bihar when he started editing the bi-lingual paper in 1874....."
7. One will find in Ram Chandra Sukla's *Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas* where it is mentioned that a book under the name of 'Bhasha Yogabashisth' was written in Khariboli about 62 years before by one Ramprasad Niranjani.

Besides the books by Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi and Ramchandra Sukla, also refer to *History of Culture of the Indian People, Part II. British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan).

Some Important Small Tracts of Rammohun

THESE tracts have been grouped under three heads—Religious, Legal and Social :

A. Religious

(a) *Humble suggestions to the Countrymen who believe in one True God* (1823), is a tract published under the name of Prasanna K. Tagore, in which Rammohun explained :

My object in publishing this tract is to recommend those to whom it is addressed, to avoid using harsh or abusive language in their religious intercourse with European missionaries either respecting them or the objects of their worship, however much this may be countenanced by the example of some of these gentlemen.

Towards the end he added :

Amongst Europeans, those who believe Jesus Christ to be God himself, and conceive him to be possessed of a particular form, and maintain Father, Son and Holy Ghost to be one God, should not be treated in an unfriendly manner. On the contrary, we should act towards them in the same

manner as we act towards those of our countrymen who, without forming any external image, meditate upon Rama and other supposed incarnations and believe in their unity.

(b) *Different Modes of Worship* (the original in Sanskrit but translated in 1823 by "*A Friend of the Author*")¹. To the query of one Ramadhan Sarma that "in some Sastras authorities are found supporting worship by means of idols", the translator replied :

"Man shall worship me the Lord of the Universe by means of an image or any other form, during the intervals of leisure from the performance of the ritual observances prescribed for the class to which he belongs, until he becomes conscious that I dwell in all beings". The worshipful and revered Sridhara, commenting upon this text, adds here : "The verse shows that worship by means of an idol or any other form is not absolutely useless, and that as long as a man is subjected to worship by means of idols he is also subjected to perform the ritual observances prescribed to his own class". This passage limits the period of idol worship and explains what practices are its necessary accompaniments (according to the gloss of Sridhara).

(c) *Brohmo-nishtha Grihaster Lakshan* (Bengali version.) (1826). Rammohun was a Brohmo-worshipper and his realisation of attributeless Brohmo was of a high order and he appealed to the householders to do the same. He used to perform it by being completely immersed in Gayatri. He considered the reading of the Vedas a difficult exercise and hence for daily worship, Gayatri was sufficient. But the condition is that one must fully comprehend the significance of what he is uttering or thinking. This is the reason why he wrote a booklet called *Gaya'trir Artha*. In it he fully developed its significance with the help of Gunavishnu's commentary and explanation of Raghunandan. So in this book Rammohun has shown that the highest knowledge is to comprehend the Supreme Being.

(d) *Why do you frequent Unitarian places of Worship instead of the numerously attended Established Churches?* (1827) This, the

answer of a Hindu to the above question published under the pseudonym Chandrasekhar Dev, stressed that in such a place of worship he would hear nothing of incarnation or Trinity or anything pertaining to polytheism. In this tract Rammohun made a significant point :

Because I feel already weary of the doctrine of man-god or god-man, frequently inculcated by the Brahmins in pursuance of their corrupt traditions, the same doctrine of man-god though preached by another body of priests, better dressed, better provided for and eminently elevated by virtue of conquest cannot effectually tend to excite my interest.

(e) *Gayatri* (translation into English in 1827 from Sanskrit) inculcating the divine worship by means of the Gayatri, the most sacred text of the Vedas, in which Rammohun² declared :

Thus says the illustrious Manu : The three great immutable words (Bhuh, Bhuvah, Swah, or Earth, Space, Heaven), preceded by the letter "Om"; and also the Gayatri, consisting of three measured lines, must be considered as the entrance to divine bliss.

(f) *The Universal Religion : Religious Instructions founded on sacred Authorities* (1829) is a short tract describing worship of the attributes of the Supreme Being who is pure and eternal and to whose existence Nature gives testimony. It is in the form of questions and answers. There are twelve questions which are all appropriate even today. It breathes of modernism. For instance, to the question, "Is the performance of this worship, in any particular place, quarter, time necessary?" His answer is, "A suitable place is certainly preferable but it is not absolutely necessary, that is to say, in whatever place, towards whatever quarter or at whatever time, the mind is best at rest—that place, that quarter and that time is the most proper for the performance of this worship."

(g) *Anusthan* (Written in Bengali in 1829 in the form of a dialogue) is a small tract in which he elaborated twelve questions and answers, all relating to Upasana and its correct method.

Anusthan begins with a "Abataranika" and discusses the full meaning of Upasana which, in a simple form, may be described as a recitation and repeated concentration on Brohmo. It is one of Rammohun's most important theological publications. *Anusthan* quotes scriptural truths not only from the Gita but from various other texts like the *Brihadaranyaka-Upanishad*, *Chandogya-Upanishad*, *Katha-Upanishad*, *Brahma-Sutras*, *Gaudapada's Karika*, *Vishnu-Purana*, *Manu-Samhita*, and *Mahanirvana Tantra*. In this connection reference may be made to a work of Rammohun (*Abataranika* published in 1829) mentioned by Rev. J. Long in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Books* (Calcutta 1855). Surely this is the same tract as *Anusthan* since Rev. Long describes *Abataranika* as a Sanskrit-Bengali work on 12 questions with their answers and proofs, from the Bhagavat-Gita on worship.

B. Legal

(a) *Brief Ramarks Regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females according to the Hindu Law of Inheritance* (1822). Rammohun wrote this tract to show that a Hindu widow in the past was entitled to an equal share with the son according to the existing law. This referred to mothers, not sisters. In this tract we find :

All the ancient lawgivers unanimously awarded to a mother an equal share with her son in the property left by her deceased husband, in order that she may spend her remaining days independently of her children, as is evident from the following passage :

Yajñabalka : "After the death of father, let a mother also inherit an equal share with her sons in the division of the property left by their father."

Katyayana : "The father being dead, the mother should inherit an equal share with the son."

Narada : "After the death of husband, a mother should receive a share equal to that of each of his sons."

Regarding the modern law in Dayabhaga and Dayatatwa, the expounders of Hindu law (whose opinions are considered by the natives of Bengal as standard authority in the division of property among heirs), have thus limited the rights allowed to widows by the above ancient legislators. The consequence is, that a woman who is looked up to as the sole mistress by the rest of a family one day, on the next, becomes dependent on her sons and subject to the slights of her daughters-in-law.

Regarding inheritance by sisters :

Katyayana says : "A fourth part is declared to be the share of unmarried daughters and three-fourths of the sons; if the fourth part of the property is so small as to be inadequate to defray the expenses attending their marriage, the sons have an exclusive right to the property, but shall defray the marriage ceremony of the sisters."

But the commentator of the Dayabhaga sets aside the right of the daughters, declaring that they are not entitled to any share in the property left by their fathers but that the expenses attending their marriage should be defrayed by the brothers. He found his opinion on the foregoing passage of Manu and that of Yajnavalkya which, as he thinks, imply more donation on the part of the brothers from their own portions for the discharge of the expenses of marriage.

(b) *Essay on the Rights of Hindus over Ancestral Property according to the law of Bengal* (1830). Rammohun wrote this big tract to discuss in details the Dayabhaga law prevailing in Bengal and the Mitakshara law of the upper and lower provinces. The following quotations will give an idea as to how he studied these laws which came down from time immemorial with periodic modifications by law-givers :

...The Dayabhaga, a work by Jimutavahana, treating of inheritance, has been regarded by the natives of Bengal as of authority paramount to the rest of the digests of the sacred authorities; while the Mitakshara, by Vijnaneswara, is upheld, in like manner, throughout the upper provinces, and

a great part of the Dukhun. The natives of Bengal and those of the upper provinces believe alike in the sacred and authoritative character of the writings of Manu, and of the other legislating saints; but the former receive those precepts according to the interpretation given them by Jimutavahana, while the latter rely on the explanation of them by Vijnaneswara. The more modern author, Jimutavahana, has often found occasion to differ from the other in interpreting sacred passages according to his own views, most frequently supported by sound reasoning; and there have been thus created everlasting dissensions among their respective adherents, particularly with regard to the law of inheritance.

A European reader will not be surprised at the differences I allude to, when he observes the discrepancies existing between the Greek, Armenian, Catholic, Protestant, and Baptist churches, who, though they all appeal to the same authority, materially differ from each other in many practical points, owing to the different interpretations given to passages of the Bible by the commentators they respectively follow.

For further elucidation I here quote a few remarks from the preface to the translation of the Dayabhaga, and of a part of the Mitakshara, by Mr. Colebrooke, well known in the literary world, which are as follows : It (the present volume) comprehends the celebrated treatise of Jimutavahana on succession, which is constantly cited by lawyers of Bengal, under the emphatic title of Dayabhaga, or 'inheritance'; and an extract from the still more celebrated Mitakshara, comprising so much of this work as relates to inheritance. The range of its authority and influence is far more extensive than that of Jimutavahana's treatise, for it is received in all the schools of Hindu law, from Benares to the southern extremity of the peninsula of India, as the chief groundwork of the doctrines which they follow, and as an authority from which they rarely dissent.

In winding up, Rammohun remarked :

“To his declaration, that “Nothing can be more clear than Jimutavahana’s assertion of this doctrine” the reviewer adds the following phrase : “and the doubt cast upon it by its expounders, Raghunandana, Srikrishna Tarkalankara and Jagannatha, is wholly gratuitous. In fact, the latter is chiefly to blame for the distinction between illegal and invalid acts.” It is, I think, requisite that I should notice here who these three expounders were, whom the writer charges with the invention of this doctrine; at what periods they lived; and how they stood and still stand in the estimation of the people of Bengal. To satisfy any one on these points I have only to refer to the accounts given of them by Mr. Colebrooke, in his preface to the translation of the *Dayabhaga*. In speaking of Raghunandana, he says, “It bears the name of Raghunandana, the author of the *Smriti-tatwa*, and the greatest authority on Hindu Law in the province of Bengal.” “The *Daya-tatwa*, of so much of the *Smriti-tatwa* as relates to inheritance, is the undoubted composition of Raghunandana and, in deference to the greatness of the author’s name and the estimation in which his works are held among the learned Hindus of Bengal, has been throughout diligently consulted and carefully compared with Jimutavahana’s treatise, on which it is almost exclusively founded”—(p vii). “Now Raghunandana’s date is ascertained at about three hundred years from this time,” &c. (p. xii). Mr. Colebrooke thus introduces Srikrishna Tarkalankara “The commentary of Srikrishna Tarkalankara on the *Dayabhaga* of Jimutavahana, has been chiefly and preferably used. This is the most celebrated of the glosses on the text. Its authority has been long gaining ground in the schools of law throughout Bengal; and it has almost banished from them the other expositions of the *Dayabhaga*, being ranked in general estimation next to the treatises of Jimutavahana and of Raghunandana” (p. vi). “The commentary of Maheswara is posterior to those of Chudamani and Achyuth, both of which are cited in it; and is probably anterior to Srikrishna’s or at least nearly of the same date” (p. vii). In the note at foot he observes, “Great-grandsons of both

these writers were living in 1806.” Hence it may be inferred, that Srikrishna Tarkalankara lived above a century from this time. Mr. Colebrooke takes brief notice of Jagannatha Tarkapanchanan, saying : “A very ample compilation on this subject is included in the Digest of Hindu Law prepared by Jagannatha, under directions of Sir William Jones, &c.” (p. ii). The last mentioned, Jagannatha, was universally acknowledged to be the first literary character of his day, and his authority has nearly as much weight as that of Raghunandana.

(c) *Letters on Hindu Law of Inheritance* (1830). This tract emerged from Rammohun’s discussion with an anonymous “Hindu” (Rammohun entreated him in his first reply that legal matters could be more profitably discussed by throwing aside the disguise of pseudonym) who wanted clarification on legal points in the interpretation of Dayabhaga and Mitakshara commentators in respect of ancestral property in particular. He not only explained the legal issues with accuracy and understanding but took care of complications which might arise in exceptional circumstances. He minutely studied the cases and compared the opinions of different authorities with the current usages, expressing his own views at the end. These got full recognition even in the highest courts in England.

These legal tracts reveal Rammohun’s extraordinary power of clear analysis and his talents in legal matters. But apart from his knowledge of Hindu law, ancient and modern, Rammohun’s intimate contact with the administration of the country through long association with Woodford and Digby at Murshidabad, Dacca, Jessore, Ramgarh (Hazaribagh), Bhagalpur and Rangpur had acquainted him so thoroughly that the combination proved to be of incalculable benefit.

C. Social

Rammohun’s remarks on *polygamy* are scattered. One must note that it had become almost a practice for Brahmins to take two, three, four or even more, wives of tender age (who were invariably left with their parents in the village) for a small

consideration or for other reasons. The consequences were so disastrous for the family and society that only by legislation on the minimum age of girls for marriage could this evil practice be ruthlessly crushed. Rammohun pointed out that this practice had been condemned by the ancient Rishis :

This horrible polygamy among Brahmins is directly contrary to the law given by ancient authors, for Yajnavalkya authorises second marriage, while the first wife is alive, only under eight circumstances : vice of drinking spirituous liquors, incurable sickness, deception, barrenness, extravagance, the frequent use of offensive language, producing only female off-spring, manifestation of hatred towards her husband.

The political condition of the country being unstable and the society being led by a handful of men in their own interest and, further, men with liberal views and with a hold on society being rare, social problems had continued untackled. Rammohun was extremely busy and could not find time to bring his thoughts to any tracts on polygamy but proofs are abundant that he was greatly exercised over these abominable practices, as they used to be discussed in Atmiya Sabha.

It was very likely that after 1817, when Rammohun separated himself from Langurpara house, good relations developed between him and his own family, particularly during the period of his residence at Raghunathpur (new house on cremation ground) for very short stays from time to time. Litigations against him ended in 1824 and his second wife died then. Immediately after another litigation started but that was against Radhaprasad on a false charge and based on conspiracy of several persons, Indians and Europeans. The case ended in 1826 in favour of Radhaprasad.

Rammohun's remarks on caste system are equally scattered. Due to litigations and other preoccupations for about eight years Rammohun could not take up these untackled social problems, neither the questions of polygamy nor that of caste system. No single tract on caste system exists. But in several references he

condemned it. His abhorrence was expressed in his translation of *Vajrasuchi*⁴ (translated in Bengali in 1827). The original was written in Sanskrit by Mrityunjay-Acharya and it contained the basic principles and arguments leading to the institution of caste system, but these the author ridiculed by simple questions like : where does Brahminism lie ?, is it in the soul ?, sect ?, body ?, colour ?, religion ?, learning ?, —to which then the author provided the answer by saying that man's experience of God was the main criterion. According to Rammohun a brahmin was he who had the experience of God or had felt God at any moment of his life. A non-brahmin could also be a brahmin if he experienced God. The purport of this translation by Rammohun was quite clearly to make the point that he never believed that caste system was capable of doing any good to man. Because at every step some loophole would be detected by the orthodox Hindu and some advantage taken, Rammohun had to proceed very cautiously. His external behaviour and actions must not always be taken too plainly as an indication of what he was or was not. It will be wrong to conclude from the sacred thread he used to wear on his body that he believed in his status as brahmin. Discussion in *Vajrasuchi* is a telling evidence of this. He stated elsewhere that India's progress was so slow because of the caste system which kept man separate from man, sect from sect, province from province. He clearly saw that with caste system, national unity could not be achieved, political emancipation would always remain distant. In a letter in 1828 Rammohun wrote to a friend :

I agree with you that in point of vices the Hindus are not worse than the generality of Christians in Europe and America; but I regret to say that the present system of religion adhered to by the Hindus is not well calculated to promote their political interest. The distinction of castes, introducing innumerable divisions and subdivisions among them has entirely deprived them of patriotic feeling, and multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and the laws of purification have totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise.....It is, I think, necessary that some change should take place in their religion, at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort.

From the time Rammohun came to settle in Calcutta in 1815 he remained extremely busy in propagating Vedantic views in support of monotheism, monoism and in violent opposition to idol worship. If he had time he would surely have directed his efforts in full measure to eradicate polygamy and caste system.⁵ The fact that he took up the translation of *Vajrasuchi* as late as 1827 shows that he had no more time than only to translate. From 1828, he got immersed in the movement to form a group of Brohmo-worshippers, whether Unitarians or not, and to establish a prayer hall for all such people, whether Hindus or non-Hindus, who believed in a Upasana in a quiet place.

However, on the question of *Suttee*, Rammohun felt impelled to put down his views at one place in a tract entitled *Abstract of Arguments regarding the burning of Widows* (1830). Rammohun had already fired the first salvo on this issue sometime in 1818 when he came out with a Bengali pamphlet "*Conference between an Advocate for and an Opponent of the Practice of burning Widows alive*" and then in 1819 a "*Second Conference between an Advocate for and an Opponent of the Practice of burning of Widows alike*." These were subsequently translated into English and presented to the Marchioness of Hastings with a view to making the interested people in England acquainted with the problem at issue. It was much later, in 1830, that Rammohun prepared a short summary in the form of *Abstract of Argument regarding burning of Widows*. This was written primarily for the authorities in England in order to counter the petition sent by advocates of *Suttee* following Bentinck's ordinance of 1829. Towards the end of the *Abstract* Rammohun wrote :

We next direct attention to the Smriti, as next in authority to the Vedas. Manu whose authority supersedes that of other law-givers, enjoins widows to live a virtuous life, as already quoted. Yajnavalkya and some others have adopted the same mode of exhortation. On the other hand, Angira recommends the practice of concremation, saying, "The woman who, on the death of her husband, ascends the burning pile with him, is exalted to heaven as equal to Arundhati." So Vyasa says, "A penguin devoted to her husband, after his

death, entered the flames, and ascending to heaven, she there found her husband." "She who follows her husband to another world, shall dwell in a region of glory for so many years as there are hairs in the human body, or thirty-five millions." Vishnu, the saint, lays down this rule, "After the death of her husband, a wife should live as an ascetic or ascend his pile." Harita and others have followed Angira in recommending concremation.

Rammohun concluded :

The author of *Mitakshara*, a work which is considered as a standard of Hindu Law throughout Hindustan, referring on the one hand to the authority of Manu, Yajnavalkya, the Bhagavad Gita, and similar sacred writings, and to the passages of Angira, Harita and Vyasa on the other hand, and after having weighed both sides of the question, declared that "The widow who is not desirous of eternal beautitude but who wishes only for a perishable and small degree of future fruition, is authorised to accompany her husband," so that Smartya Raghunandana, the modern expounder of Law of Bengal, classes concremation among the rites holding out promises of fruition; and this author thus inculcates : "Learned men should not endeavour to persuade the ignorant to perform rites holding out promises of fruition. Hence, concremation in their opinion, is the least virtuous act that a widow can perform".....The third and the last point to be ascertained is whether or not the mode of concremation prescribed by Harita and others was ever duly observed.

In fighting for the abolition of *Suttee*, Rammohun's motive was distinctly humanitarian but behind it, it can be easily presumed that what determined his action was the higher question of women's independent existence. This emerges fully from a study of his treatise *Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females*.

NOTES

1. The tract was written in Sanskrit by Rammohun under the pseudonym Shivuprusad Shurma and translated into English with annotations under the name of "A Friend of the Author".
2. Rammohun wrote, "While translating this essay on the Gayatri, I deemed it proper to refer to the meaning of the text as given by Sir William Jones, whose talents, acquisitions, virtuous life, and impartial research have rendered his memory an object of love and veneration to all. I feel so much delighted by the excellence of the translation, or rather the paraphrase, given by the illustrious character, that with a view to connect his name and his explanation of the passage with this humble treatise. I take the liberty of quoting it here. The interpretation in question is as follows :

"The Gayatri, holiest verse of the Vedas :"

"Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun, the god-head who illuminates all, who recreates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct our understandings aright in our progress toward his holy seat."

4. In his translation of *Vajrasuchi*, Rammohun gave indications of his support for inter-caste marriage and went beyond by advocating Saiva marriage (as in Mahanirvan Tantra) which indicated approval not only of inter-caste marriage but also widow marriage, inter-racial marriage, etc.
5. M.K. Gandhi strongly defended the caste system :

".....We in India have evolved caste and they in Europe have organised class.....if caste had produced certain evils, class has not been productive of anything less. If class helps to conserve certain social virtues, caste does the same in equal, if not greater, degree. The beauty of the caste system is that it does not base itself upon distinctions of wealth, possessions.....Hindus or Christians might be able to see that the spirit behind caste is not one of arrogant superiority, it is the classification of different system of self-culture... It trusts to the principle of heredity....."—(Article : Caste vs Class in *Hindu Dharma*).

Elsewhere M.K. Gandhi also wrote :

"All men are equal—for they are not of same age, same height, same skin, same intellect, these inequalities are temporary and superficial,

the soul that is hidden beneath this earthy crust is one and the same for all men and women....."—(*Young India*, August 1927).

".....I believe implicitly that all men are equal——whether born in India or in England or in America or in any circumstances whatsoever.....have the same soul as any other.....(*Young India*, September 1927).

In a letter to M.K. Gandhi, Dr. Ambedkar wrote :

"The outcaste is a by-product of the caste system. There will be outcastes as long as there are castes. Nothing can emancipate the outcaste except the destruction of caste-system. Nothing can help to save Hindu and ensure their survival in the coming struggles except the purging of the Hindu faith of this odious and vicious dogma..." (February 1933)

To this Gandhi replied :

"Dr. Ambedkar is bitter. He has every reason to feel so. He has received liberal education...outside India he is received with honour... ..but in India among Hindus at every step he is reminded that he is one of the outcastes of Hindu Society. It is nothing to his shame... ..his exterior is as clean as that of the cleanest and the proudest Brahmin, of his interior the world knows as little as that of any of us.....

As to the burden of his message the opinion he holds about the caste system is shared by many educated Hindus. I have not however been able to share that opinion. I do not believe the caste system, even as distinguished from Varnashram, to be an odious and vicious dogma. It has its limitations and its defects but there is nothing sinful about it as there is about untouchability and if it is a by-product of the caste system it is only in the same sense that an ugly growth is of a body or weeds of crop. It is as wrong to destroy caste because of the outcaste as it would be to destroy a body because of an ugly growth in it...the outcasteness in the sense we understand it has therefore to be destroyed altogether. It is an excess to be removed if the system is not to perish. Untouchability is the product therefore not of the caste system but of the distinction of high and low that has crept into Hinduism and is corroding it.....the moment untouchability goes, the caste system itself will be purified.....the four divisions of society each complementary of the other and none inferior or superior to any other, each as necessary for the whole body as any other....."

Rammohun as Ambassador of Emperor of Delhi

IN 1803 the British had a victory in the second Maratha war and the Moghul Emperor came under their protection from that of the Marathas. In the same year a treaty was signed between the Emperor Shah Alam II and Lord Wellesley, by which the former assigned certain 'Mahals' and the latter the right to appoint a Resident in charge of these Mahals. The treaty stipulated an annual payment to the Emperor of about ten lacs of rupees against the revenues arising out of these Mahals. Some years passed and much larger revenues began to be collected and accordingly, in 1806-7, the then Emperor, Akbar II, made a claim for an increase in his allowance by eight lacs of rupees and placed the demand before Lord Minto who increased it to twelve lacs only. The Government was indifferent to the Emperor and there was none who could influence the authorities in favour of the Emperor. The Emperor, in the mean time, got involved in some clandestine¹ operations with the Wazir of Lucknow and with a certain personage Pran Kishen as a result of which he was put to indignities by Lord Minto. When Lord Moira came as Governor-General, further indignities were in store for him. Even under his successor, Lord Amherst, the matter of allowances continued to be handled by the Resident Sir Charles Metcalfe² in an unfriendly manner. So the Emperor seriously

thought of sending an envoy to plead his case before the King of England. Rammohun, having been approached by the Emperor's emissary, agreed to undertake a mission to England. He was paid a sum of Rupees 70,000³ and the Emperor conferred on Rammohun the title of "Rajah" as a recognition of his status as "Elchi" (Envoy) of the Emperor.

A little later, Rammohun wrote to London to the East India Company's Directors about his new appointment and also about his intention of proceeding to England. To both these points, the British authorities in India objected. Rammohun realised that it would be futile to start a quarrel and so in compliance with the wishes of the Government, he wrote to the Governor-General that he would go to England in his individual capacity. No objection was raised and Rammohun, while going, carried with him a letter from the Emperor to the King of England. This letter, drafted by Rammohun himself, was a fine literary piece, marked by courtesy, reason, vigour and a sense of Moghul prestige delineating its past grandeur. In the concluding part, the representation ran as follows :

If I had any doubt of the justice of my claims, I might still rest them on an appeal to your Majesty's known generosity, I might remind your Majesty of the time when my ancestors ruled supreme over these countries, where their wretched descendant and the sole representative of their dynasty is compelled to drag on a dependant existence in a dilapidated place, exposed to the contempt or receiving the sympathy of the different classes of society, both Europeans and Asiatics, who resort to Delhi, with means utterly inadequate to support the dignity even of a nominal sovereignty or to afford a scanty subsistence to the numerous branches of his family who look to him as their only stay. But I will not resort to such a plea. I will not condescend to accept, and your Majesty will disdain to confer as a favour, that which is due as a right. I rest my cause on your Majesty's high-minded sense of honour and justice. I cannot permit myself to suppose that your Majesty will lend a deaf ear to my complaints. I address by this letter not only your Majesty but the world at large, and I anticipate the plaudits which

present and future ages will bestow on your Majesty's benevolent and enlightened sympathy with the unworthy representative of the once great and illustrious, though now fallen, House of Taimur.

On his arrival in London, a few months passed in great excitement, social parties and intimate discussions on various matters with friends and officials. There was high appreciation for Rammohun and he felt established among the best of people of England. He was, however, soon left with no doubt that the attitude of the Court of Directors would not change on the question of the mission with which the Emperor had entrusted him. Sometime passed, finding that he could wait no longer, he decided to write to the Board of Control about his desire to discuss the affairs of the Emperor. The Board expressed its unwillingness to negotiate with him in spite of his being fully empowered in the matter. At this stage, he fortunately discovered a great supporter in Sir Charles Grant (Jr.)⁴, President of the Board of Control. He showed sympathy for Rammohun. The matter now became easy and Grant persuaded the Court of Directors to increase the allowance by rupees three lacs. The Directors, however, did not really soften their attitude to Rammohun. They by-passed Rammohun and informed the Emperor directly of the increased allowances through the Government in India in July 1833. Both the Emperor and Rammohun had greater expectations in the matter of the allowance. Rammohun, in fact, had been opposed to the acceptance of this offer; he thought that with some more effort, it could be possible to increase it. But as ill-luck would have it, death removed Rammohun from the scene all of a sudden. The Emperor's hope vanished. Finding no way out, the Emperor now wrote to the Government to make the enhanced grant available from the time the Court of Directors had sanctioned it. But the Government refused, making it available from the time of its acceptance by the Emperor. Further when in response to the Government's wish, the Emperor furnished a list of persons to whom increased allowance should be given, the Lt. Governor rejected totally his list which included the names Radhaprasad Roy and Ramprasad Roy, the two sons of Rajah Rammohun Roy, more in their capacity of creditors than as beneficiaries. On this the:

Emperor wrote in 1832 the following letter to the Governor-General, Lord Auckland :

It cost me three lakhs of Rupees to send ambassadors to England and Calcutta for the sole purpose of removing my own embarrassment and those of my children, brothers and sisters and salateens.....Rajah Rammohun Roy Bahadur, confiding in my promises and favour, undertook the distant journey to England and fell a sacrifice.....The fulfilment of my promise is just and proper, and independently of my promise and without reference to the increases, the family of a man who had sacrificed his life in the service of his master, ought to be maintained by that master, especially Rao Radha prasad and Rao Ramprasad, sons of the late Rajah Rammohun Roy, who are my devoted servants and have likewise received a promise of remuneration. Moreover, for the space of two years past, Rao Radhaprasad has been in attendance at the Royal threshold, in the hope of realising the promised remuneration and salary on account of his father's devotion.....The payment of debt by every law is a duty, and the fulfilment of my promises of remuneration and fixed salaries to the sons of the late Rajah Rammohun Roy..... is as much incumbent on me, if not more so, than the discharge of a just debt. It was solely from an anxiety to liquidate my debts and redeem my promises, that a *Razinama* for so small an increase was executed.....Justice requires, that your Lordship should make a suitable arrangement for the expenses of royalty and the satisfaction of the rights of Rajah Rammohun Roy..... (Translated from Persian)

The Government took no notice of this letter and forwarded a list of persons of their own choice in which the Emperor himself was included only on certain conditions. Disgusted, the Emperor refused to accept the grant and asked for the return of the *Razinama*. The Emperor himself died shortly afterwards, his eldest son, Bahadur Shah, succeeding him. When Bahadur Shah asked for the grant to be revived, the Government agreed but wanted a *Razinama* from him which he declined. The Emperor now made up his mind to send a deputation to England and selected George Thompson, an Englishman of repute, for

this purpose. This time the Government raised no objection. But the petition which Thompson submitted in 1843-44 in England was totally rejected. Bahadur Shah was helpless, the ranklings in his heart remained to come to surface in 1857 in the Mutiny.

NOTES

1. Pran Kishan was native of Murshidabad in Bengal.....an adventurer in search of fortune. He travelled in the Upper Provinces and then managed to be the Agent of the King of Delhi. The King conferred on him the title of Raja and sent him to the Presidency as his Agent.....all this was done without the knowledge of the Resident who, had he known, would have put him into prison.
2. Sir Charles Metcalfe, Assistant to the Resident of Delhi, who enjoyed a reputation as a very sympathetic administrator appears in this controversy with the Emperor a little too harsh on the Ruler of Delhi. Metcalfe's position will however be clear from a letter he wrote to his friend about the Resident's conduct, which runs as follows :

"I do not exactly conform to the policy of Seton's mode of managing the Royal Family. It is by a submission of manner and conduct carried on in my opinion far beyond the respect and attention which can be either prescribed by forms, or distated by a humane consideration for the fallen fortunes of a once illustrious family. It destroys entirely the dignity which ought to be attached in him who represents the British Government and who, in reality, is to govern at Dilhee; and it raises (I have perceived the effect disclosing itself with gradual rapidity) ideas of imperial power and sway which ought to be put to sleep for ever. As it is evident that we do not mean to restore imperial power to the King, we ought not to pursue a conduct calculated to make him aspire to it. Let us treat him with the respect due to his rank and situation; let us make him comfortable in respect to circumstances and give him all the means, as far as possible, of being happy; but unless we mean to establish his power, let us not encourage him to dream of it. Let us meet his first attempts to display imperial authority with immediate check; and let us see the mark beyond which our respect and obedience to the shadow of a King will not proceed."

3. When the Emperor was discussing this case with Rammohun he agreed to pay the latter one-half of the amount of a year's increase and a monthly allowance of rupees five thousand (in case of lesser increase, the stipulation was a pro-rata payment).
4. He was the son of Charles Grant, who had extensive trade in Bengal towards the latter part of the 18th century and attained eminence as a high charactered man (died 1823).

Rammohun and Rajaram

RAMMOHUN embarked for England on November 15, 1830 accompanied by Rajaram¹ who had been brought up like his adopted son, two attendants Ramrutton Mookherjee and Ramhurry Dass (real name Haricharan Dass) and Sheik Buxshoo. On October 21, 1830 the following official letter had been issued :

The Secretary reports that an order for the reception on board the *Albion* of a native gentleman named Rammohun Roy proceeding to England was granted on the 7th instant on an application duly made by him for the purpose. (Public Body Sheet, Oct. 21, 1830, No 95).

It will therefore be seen that Rammohun's party consisted of five men including Sheik Buxshoo who later on returned to India in April 1833 as will be seen from the following letter :

Calcutta 7 February 1833

This is to certify that a Mahomedan Native servant named Buxshoo, was sent on board the *Zenobia* in London by Messrs. Richards Mackintosh & Co., the agents of Raja Rammohun Roy, whom he attended at home and in England, and that he has been landed in Calcutta from that vessel.

Pub. (Home)
O.C. 19, April, 1833

W. Owen
Captain of the *Zenobia*

It will be seen that Sheik Buxshoo returned to India some months before Rammohun's death in England. Since the funeral document bears three signatures—those of Rajaram, Ramruttun Mookherjee and Ramhurry Dass—this clearly shows that Rajaram and Sheik Buxshoo are two different men.

In this connection it is necessary to note the official record permitting attendants to accompany Rammohun on the same boat, the *Albion*.² The Government order ran thus :

The Officiating Secretary reports that orders for the reception of Ramruttun Mookherjee, Harichurn Dass and Sheik Buxoo,³ 15th November, proceeding to England in attendance on Rammohun Roy on the *Albion* have been issued on applications duly made for the purpose (Public Body Sheet, dated 16th Nov. 1830).

It will be seen that in this embarkation permission Rajaram does not figure. Either the relevant part is missing or special permission for his embarkation was taken at the last moment just when the *Albion* was to sail. The fact however remains that Rajaram was in England at the time of the funeral and that he is different from Sheik Buxshoo who was by then already in India.

It has been insinuated by the antagonists of Rammohun that Buxshoo must have been Rammohun's son by a muslim wife (Rammohun is alleged to have married her under Saivite rites according to the antagonists) and was named Rajaram by Rammohun to give it the appearance that he was a hindu orphan boy. The theory of a muslim mother would need to satisfy several points : (a) where was the mother of the boy living ? (b) under whose guardianship and in what occupation was she living ? As long as these and other questions relating to this surmise remain unanswered, these insinuations are meaningless and unworthy of a historian. For one thing it looks like an utter fabrication as nowhere have we found the mother and the son meeting or the mother and Rammohun meeting, either in Calcutta or elsewhere. These are baffling questions because the address of the muslim woman⁴ in

Calcutta or elsewhere has not been found out—it could not have been kept hidden for any length of time considering the fact that Rammohun was surrounded by a large group of detractors—headed specially by influential Zamindars of wealth and resource. If Rammohun had a mistress in Calcutta or anywhere else, the Dharmasabha group of orthodox hindus could have easily traced the whereabouts of the muslim woman. The inability to trace and yet to malign is unworthy of a historian. This only confirms the suspicion that it is nothing but a calumny, the genesis of which lay in that group of talented literary men.

In this connection, it is worth while quoting the views Rammohun's adversaries had about his character. These people—the missionaries of Serampore entertained the highest opinion and respect for him and that is clear from the warm tribute Miss Collet records :

.....Orthodox hindus of the Dharma Sabha type were thirsting to show up the great apostate, as they regarded him, in the blackest of colours. The fact that his wives had deserted him, and the presence of this adopted son, offered a combination of circumstance which eager malice could scarcely fail to construe in its own way. Men who made attempts on Rammohun's life were not likely to scruple about attacking his reputation. And against this rumour, so easily explained, we have to set the unanimous testimony of British missionaries to Rammohun's pure moral habits. An intimate friend like Mr. William Adam, who was closely questioned by Unitarian correspondents about Rammohun's domestic relations, could scarcely have been mistaken in his uniformly high estimate of the reformer's character. And his aggrieved Trinitarian opponents, even in the heat of controversy, never breathed a whisper against his fair name. The criticism by missionaries, Baptist and Unitarian, Presbyterian and Anglican, hostile as well as sympathetic, may afford to ignore stale hindu gossip served up a generation afterwards.

NOTES

1. This story might have its origin in the same source from where the Raja's friend and disciple, Chandrasekhar Dev, heard that at one time he (Rammohun) had a muslim mistress and that Rajaram was his natural son by her. It was all too likely that such a calumny would be started against an opponent who had a high regard for the muslim faith in respect of its monotheism. Another such calumny, started in Calcutta in 1830, was that Rammohun was going to marry again in England upon which *Samachar Durpan* wrote a sympathetic commentary (*Sambadpatre Shekaler Katha*, Part I, p. 344).

The true history of Rajaram was supplied to Dr. Carpenter in the following letter from India in 1833; "You ask me to give you any corrections (on Dr. C's Sermon and Review) that may appear necessary. One has been suggested to me by his native friends, as desirable to be made for the sake of Rammohun Roy's character. The boy, Raja, whom he took with him to England is not his son, even an adopted son according to the Hindu form of adoption; but a destitute orphan whom he was led by circumstance to protect and educate. I have a distinct recollection of the particular circumstances under which he stated to me how Raja came into his hands. And my recollection is confirmed by that of others. Mr. Dick, civil servant of the Company, found the child helpless and forsaken at one of the fairs at Hardwar where, from two to three hundred thousand people annually congregated. It is not known whether the parents lost or forsook him, but Mr. Dick had him clothed and fed, and when he was under the necessity of leaving the country for the recovery of health, he consulted with Rammohun Roy how the child should be disposed of. I well recollect our late friend's benevolent exclamation : 'When I saw an Englishman, a Christian, thus caring for the welfare of a poor orphan, could I, a native, hesitate to take him under my care and provide for him ?' Mr. Dick never returned to India having died, I believe, on the passage to England and the child remained with Rammohan Roy".

2. "Departure of passengers by the *Albion* : Baboo Rammohun Roy, son and servants" (*The Government Gazette*, November 15, 1830, as cited in *Prabasi*, 1336, Chaitra).
3. The official record about Rammohun's voyage by the *Albion* states, "... reception of Ramrutton Mookherjee, Harichurn Dass and Sheik Buxoo.....". It appears that Buxshoo held an inferior position to that of the other two attendants and that it is surmised that he was Rajah's washerman.

4. This topic has been discussed threadbare by the eminent historian Ramaprasad Chanda in *Prabasi* (Bengali year 1342, Falgun) and in other articles showing inconsistencies on the part of the historian Brajendranath Banerjee and showing ultimately that Banerjee's readings have been one-sided, unfounded in parts and prejudiced against Ram-mohun. The Government records are incomplete and inconsistent at places. This topic is nearly a side issue for the subject in hand and since insinuations have been found to be unproved, further discussion is not called for.

Rammohun's Voyage to Europe— Arrival at Liverpool, Manchester, London

PRIOR to his leaving for England in November 1830, Rammohun's achievements as mentioned before, were with regard to reforming social attitudes in respect of religious practices, bringing about an altogether new outlook on education and eliminating a host of meaningless and unintelligible practices in the worship of the Divinity. Rammohun's Atmiya Sabha had already merged in Brohmo Sabha, thus making a distinct headway towards Unitarianism,¹ through the ceaseless efforts of Rev. William Adam. At the time he was leaving for England, Brohmo Sabha had already become a substantial voice in calling upon religious men to concentrate their thoughts on the lord of the universe, Brohmo. Thus this group began to acquire a status in the social life of the hindus. At this time Rammohun turned towards the west and he wanted very seriously England's help for the rest of his work for India's upliftment.

Rammohun was leaving behind him the translations of a number of Upanishads with commentaries in Bengali, Hindi and English, evidently keeping in view the entire Indian readership. He had already to his credit a large number of tracts of

polemical writings on sastric injunctions. His efforts for the eradication of *Suttee* had already been brought to a successful end through the determined action of the Government in December, 1829, marking it as the crowning piece of Rammohun's efforts and achievements.

He was at this time keeping fully in mind the invitation from the Emperor of Delhi (Akbar II) since early in 1828, for a sojourn in England. The Emperor impressed upon him the necessity of quickly proceeding to London to represent his case to the King of England in the capacity of his Ambassador. As Rammohun was preparing for going to England, there came the news that Bentinck's Regulation on *Suttee* had been challenged by the orthodox Hindus and that the matter was being placed before the House of Commons. This came to him as an added worry and it became imperative that the journey to England should be expedited. He felt he was turning a new chapter of his life and this would be a glorious period by being associated with scholars, thinkers, politicians and men of religion. He felt that the specific duties he had undertaken, would roughly come under four heads :

1. To represent to the authorities in England the case of the Emperor of Delhi for a substantial increase in emoluments without which he could not fulfil the obligations imposed upon him.
2. To exert all his influence and utilise to the utmost, his social position to impress upon the authorities in England the necessity of including in the new Charter (due for renewal in 1833) progressive measures for quick amelioration of India's political and social conditions.
3. To educate opinion in England so as to secure forthwith the rejection of the appeal from the orthodox hindus in respect of *Suttee* practice.
4. To put before the people of England the positive side of Indian culture and establish fraternal relations between the enlightened men of India and of the West.

Voyage Undertaken

Rammohun started from Calcutta by the boat *Albion* on November 1, 1830 accompanied by Rajaram, two attendants and Buxshoo. From the fact that he took two attendants (one of whom was a cook) it should not be inferred that Rammohun was very orthodox. Any man conversant with the hindu society and specially with the Rammohun's family, will understand that it was necessary for him to guard himself against the danger that any lapse on his part would be fully utilised by his opposite group. In India, in all heterodox parties, dinners, banquets, Rammohun kept himself aloof from interdining, but otherwise he played the host's role in a perfect manner. This practice was essential for him in India and he continued it in his voyage and also during his stay in England. In London too, he kept up, as far as possible, this facade in self-protection; one careless slip might involve him in meaningless troubles costing him, as in the past, his ancestral property which would have meant a very substantial weakening of Rammohun's financial solvency. This was already much impaired by the court cases into which he was drawn. It may be noted that he did not take any portion of his father's property² after the latter's death. All his philanthropy, social service, tracts, pamphlets, books, journals and other publications had come from his own earnings or from what he got from his father in his life time as part of the ancestral property. Rammohun was a hard realist, he was proud of being a hindu of the finest tradition and he also knew that it would be foolish to cut himself off from the main body of hindus. All these considerations compelled him to take this large retinue for the trip to England.

In the ship a co-passenger was James Sutherland (later Principal, Hooghly College, Bengal) who has left an interesting account of Rammohun during the voyage³ :

On board the ship, Rammohun Roy took his meals in his own cabin, and at first suffered considerable inconvenience from the want of a separate fire-place, having nothing but a common Choola on board. His servants, too, fell desperately sea-sick, (though, as if his ardour supported him

against it, he himself never felt this malady at all) and took possession of his cabin, never moving from it, and making it as may easily be conceived, an enviable domicile; in fact they compelled him to retreat to the lockers; but still the kindness of his nature would not allow him to remove them. The greater part of the day he read, chiefly I believe, Sanskrit and Hebrew. In the forenoon and the evening he took an airing on the deck, and always got involved in an animated discussion. After dinner when the cloth was removed and dessert was on the table, he would come out of his cabin also and join in the conversation and take a glass of wine. He was always cheerful and so won upon the esteem of all on board that there was quite a competition who should pay him the most attention, and even the sailors seemed to render him any little service in their power... His equanimity was quite surprising. In more than one case everything in his cabin was quite afloat owing to the sea washing in.. but it never disturbed his serenity. If anything threw him off his equilibrium of temperament, it was the prevalence of the contrary winds, because of his anxiety to get on, and his alarm lest the great question of the Company's Charter should come on before he arrived in England.

Rammohun arrived at Cape Town in January 1831. He went ashore only for a couple of hours; while reboarding, the gangway slipped causing injury to his leg and it gave him trouble for a pretty long time in England. In the ship, came some eminent Cape men and left visiting cards. After a few days during the journey, Rammohun saw at a distance two French frigates with the tri-colour flag; he passionately saluted them repeating "glory, glory to France". Such was his passion for liberty and the ideals of French Revolution.

After a few months of voyage when he landed at Liverpool on April 8, 1831, he was offered, by William Rathbone, a residence in the famous house at Greenbank in which many illustrious men had stayed in the past. He appreciated this kind offer but desirous of living independently, he eventually

went to Radley's hotel. Here many people of eminence called on him. According to Sutherland :

...he got into inextricable confusion with all his engagements, making half a dozen, sometime for the same evening. He was out morning, noon, and night...On all occasions, whether at breakfast or dinner, a number of persons was assembled to meet him; and he was constantly involved in animated discussions on politics or theology.....

The first chapel he attended in Liverpool was a Unitarian chapel. After the sermon all the people gathered round him to have a closer look and hear him talk in their tongue and to shake hands with him. There he saw the portrait of one Mr. Tait whom Rammohun knew in India and was apparently moved when told that he was no more.

That very night Rammohun went to an Anglican Church where he heard the sermon of Rev. Scoresby, a sailor in his youth but now a good chaplain. It impressed him very much. He later came in contact with some Quaker families (Croppers and Bensons) who took special interest in him. They introduced him to several people of different denominations, Unitarians, Deists, Theists, Baptists, etc. all gathered at one place. In the house of Rathbone, he also met a phrenologist⁴ named Spurzheim in whose special subject Rammohun had no interest but there grew a good friendship.

Rammohun was invited to many other homes. Everywhere he created a deep impression of sincerity, understanding, geniality and dignity, whether it was in the drawing room, public meeting or official parties, as will be evident from below :

To hear a Brahman zealously advocating Reform, and, with an earnestness and emphasis that bespoke his sincerity, expatiating on the blessings of civil and religious liberty, of course amazed our countrymen; and perhaps they were not less surprised, if the discussion took a religious turn, to find him quoting text upon text with the utmost facility, and proving himself more familiar with their sacred books than themselves.

From Liverpool Rammohun came to Manchester. As soon as William Roscoe,⁵ a reputed historian and an authority on jurisprudence, heard of his arrival, he sent a message to see him. When Rammohun called on Roscoe, he was already bed-ridden with long years of paralysis. Yet his excitement was great. The following lines give a vivid picture :

The interview between him and Mr. Roscoe will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it. After the usual gesture of eastern salutation and with a mixture of oriental expression, Rammohun Roy said, "Happy and proud am I... proud and happy to behold a man whose fame has extended not only over Europe, but over every part of the world." "I bless God," replied Mr. Roscoe, "that I have been permitted to live to see this day." Their conversation chiefly turned upon the objects which had led Rammohun Roy to this country, and in the course of it, he displayed an intimate acquaintance with the political and commercial state of England.

Rammohun had had some previous correspondence with Roscoe. Hence their meeting was specially significant; both eagerly looking forward to intimate talks on subjects of common interest, in addition to the highly illuminating subject of the doctrines of Jesus. It was a surprise for Roscoe that a non-Christian, from the other side of the globe, could sound the same note, think on the same lines and write on Jesus with the same devotion as he did.

More than four months before this meeting at Manchester, Roscoe had written a long letter to Rammohun and sent it to him through one Mr. Fletcher, a friend of his, who was proceeding to India on his own business. But as it happened Fletcher reached India when Rammohun was already in Liverpool. Henry Roscoe, son of William Roscoe, described in the memoirs of his father in a very faithful manner all that William wrote to Rammohun in introducing himself and in explanation of his stand in respect of the doctrines of Jesus.

To Manchester Rammohun came by the newly laid railway and while he was passing in the coach, the common people

rushed to his carriage, shouting "the King of Ingee". The excitement will be read with interest in Sutherland's description :

The scene at Manchester, when he visited the great manufactories was very amusing. All workmen, I believe, struck work, and men, women and children rushed in crowds to see 'the King of Ingee.' Many of the great unwashed insisted upon shaking hands with him; some of the ladies who had not stayed to make their toilets very carefully wished to embrace him, and he with difficulty escaped..... The aid of the police was required to make way for him to the manufactories and when he entered, it was necessary to close and bolt the gate to keep out the mob....After shaking hands with hundreds of them he turned round and addressed them, hoping they would all support the King and his Ministers in obtaining Reform; so happily had he caught the spirit of the people. He was answered with loud shouts. 'The King and Reform for ever.'

He returned to Liverpool and stayed there almost till the end of the month of April. He felt that since he had unavoidably missed the first and second reading of the Reform Bill in the House of Commons, he must not miss the third reading. So he took leave of Roscoe who readily extended his help with a letter of introduction to Lord Brougham, the mover of the Bill. The letter is given below :

I have the great honour and very singular pleasure of introducing to your Lordship's kind notice and attention the bearer of this, the celebrated and learned Rammohun Roy, who is just arrived here from Calcutta, and of whom you must have frequently heard as the illustrious convert from Hinduism to Christianity, and the author of the selections from the New Testament of "*The Precepts of Jesus*", by the publication and diffusion of which amongst the natives of the East reasonable hopes are now entertained, that in a short time, the shocking system and cruel practices of Paganism will be abolished, and the people of those populous regions be restored to the pure and simple

precepts of morality and brotherly love. Amongst the many and important motives which have induced him to leave his country and connections, and visit this island, I understand he is induced to hope he may be of some assistance in promoting the cause of the natives of India in the great debate which must ere long take place here, respecting the Charter of the East India Company; but I have yet seen so little of him, from his numerous engagements here, that I must leave your Lordship to learn his intentions from himself, which you will find him very capable of explaining in his own strong and appropriate English idioms. One great reason, as I understand, for his haste to leave this for London, is to be present to witness the great measure that will be taken by your Lordship and your illustrious colleagues for promoting the long wished for reform of his native country. On the present occasion, I will not trouble you further than to request, that, if it should not be inconsistent with your Lordship's station and convenience, you would obtain for our distinguished visitor the benefit of a seat under the gallery in the House of Commons, on the debate on the third reading of the Reform Bill; which favour I am anxious he should owe rather to your Lordship (if you have no objection to it) than to other individuals, to whom I understand, he has letter of introduction.

During his journey to London wherever he stopped, he was surrounded by spectators whose eagerness and curiosity were beyond description. On arrival at London, he was at first taken to the Adelphi Hotel. It was about ten at night. But after a short stay there he moved to Regent Street. On the first night of arrival, the illustrious old philosopher Jeremy Bentham^e called on him most unexpectedly at that late hour of the night. Coming from England's leading philosopher this was a unique and signal honour to Rammohun. Rammohun returned the courtesy call next day and was much impressed and happy. Shortly afterwards he shifted to a Regent Street residence, where many eminent visitors came to see him. It looked as if an Ambassador had come from India and was holding informal court. Sutherland's description is worth quoting.

As soon as it was known in London that the great Brahman philosopher had arrived, the most distinguished men in the country crowded to pay their respects to him; and he had scarcely got into his lodgings in Regent Street, when his door was besieged with carriages from eleven in the morning till four in the afternoon until this constant state of excitement (for he caught the tone of the day and vehemently discussed politics with everyone) actually made him ill..... when his physicians gave positive orders to his footman not to admit visitors.

Thus in London started a round of sittings on political and religious matters with men of status in their respective spheres, from Parliament and church.

Among the men with whom Rammohun made acquaintance immediately on arrival in London was Dr. Lant Carpenter. As a Unitarian, he was naturally looking for men of the same faith in order to have fruitful discussions. Within a short time the Unitarian Association of England fixed a day for Rammohun's formal reception. One of the most significant meetings out of a crowded London programme was the welcome address extended to him at this reception in May 1831 which became an occasion to bind together the group of English and American believers to those of India. Dr. Carpenter who took him to the meeting described :

.....and in the evening I conducted him to the crowded meeting of our Association, at which the father of my colleague, Rev. Robert Aspland presided; where the enlightened Brahmin was welcomed as a fellow-labourer, and received with every mark of deep and heartfelt respect; and where he himself, though weakened by accident and indisposition, expressed in simple but correct language—the remembrance of which, and his appearance, presses vividly on my heart as I commit the thought to writing—his humble appreciation of himself, and his desires to promote whatever appeared to him the cause of truth and duty.

This being the version of the reception,⁷ one would be specially tempted to know, item by item, what actually happened.

Rammohun was by now exhausted by the strain of the high and intense public life which made it difficult to keep to the schedule. The result was that on occasions Rammohun made his appearance late, something which he always scrupulously wanted to avoid. At the Unitarian Association reception, to quote from the *Monthly Repository* of June, 1831: "The Rajah Rammohun Roy made his appearance on the platform and was greeted with cordial applause of the meeting". *The Monthly Repository* then went on to give extracts from the speeches :

The chairman (Rev. Aspland) :

Our illustrious friend (for such I trust he will allow me to call him) will permit me to state that his presence creates among us a sensation which he perhaps will hardly understand. It does so, because in his person and example we see an instance of the power of the human mind in recovering itself from the errors of ages; and because we conceive that we see in him, with his intelligence and character, one of the best and most disinterested judges of the claims of Unitarianism to be the original Christian doctrine.

Dr. Bowring, who spoke next, said :

I feel it as a very signal honour to have entrusted to my care a resolution, the object of which is to welcome our illustrious Oriental friend, and to communicate all we feel and hope towards him. I ought not to say all we feel and hope, I am sure that it is impossible to give expression to those sentiments of interest and anticipation with which his advent here is associated in all our minds. I recollect some writers have indulged themselves with enquiring what they should feel if any of those time-honoured men whose names have lived through the vicissitudes of ages, should appear among them, they have endeavoured to imagine what would be their sensation if a Plato or Socrates, Milton or a Newton were unexpectedly to honour them with their presence. I recollect that a poet, who has well being called divine, has drawn a beautiful picture of the feelings of those who first visited the southern hemisphere and there

saw for the first time, the beautiful constellation, the Golden Cross. It was with feelings such as they underwent, that I was overwhelmed when I stretched out in your name the hand of welcome to the Raja Rammohun Roy. In my mind the effect of distance is very like effect of time and he who comes among us from a country thousands of miles off must be looked upon with the same interest as the illustrious man who lived thousand of years ago. But in the case of our friend, his coming may be deemed an act of heroism of which the European cannot form a just estimate. When Peter the Great went forth to instruct himself in the civilization of the South—when he left the barbarous honours of his own court to perfect himself in shipbuilding of Saardam, he presented himself to the public eye in a more illustrious manner than after any of his most glorious victories. But Peter had to overcome no prejudices—he had to break down no embarrassments for he knew that he had left those who were behind him with an enthusiasm equal to his own, and he knew that he would be received by them, when he should return, with the same display of enthusiasm. Our illustrious friend, however, has made a more severe experiment; he has ventured to accomplish that which is perhaps none other, connected as he is, with the highest honour of the Brahmanical race, ever attempted; he has ventured to do that which would have been regarded with incredulity ten years ago and which hereafter will crown his name with the highest honour.

He will go back to his friends in the East and tell them how interested we are in them and how delighted we are to communicate to them through him all our desires to do everything in our power to advance their improvement and facility. Time would fail me if I were to attempt to go over the History of our illustrious guest, if I were to tell how eminently and constantly he has exerted himself for the removal of misery, and the promotion of happiness. If at this moment Hindoo piles are not burning for the reception of widows it is owing to his interference, to his exhortations, to his arguments. Can we look on such benefits as those without considering him our brother? Can he come here without hearing our

enthusiastic voice telling him how we have marked his progress without our professing to him, if not our triumph, at least our gratitude ? It was to us a delightful dream that we might on some occasion, welcome him here; but though it was a hope, it was but a trembling one of which we scarcely dared to anticipate the fruition. But its accomplishment has produced recollection so interesting, that this day will be an epoch in our history, and no one will forget the occasion when the Brahmin stood among us to receive our welcome, and the assurance of the interest we take in all he does and in all he shall do; to which I may add that our delight will be too great if we can in any way advance those great plans, the progress of which is the grand object of his exertion. Sir, I move with great pleasure, "that the members of this Association feel a deep interest in the amelioration of the natives of British India; that we trust their welfare, improvement will never be lost sight of by the Legislature and Government of our country; that we have special pleasure in the hope that juster notions and purer forms of religion are gradually advancing amongst them, and our illustrious visitor from that distant region, Raja Rammohun Roy, be hereby certified of our sympathy in his arduous and philanthropic labours, of our admiration for his character, of our delight in his presence amongst us and of our conviction that the magnanimous and beneficent courses which he has marked out for himself and hitherto consistently pursued, will entitle him to the blessings of his country-men and of mankind, as it will assuredly receive those of future generations.

Then came Dr. Kirkland, President of Harvard University, United States :

In the absence of the Hon'ble Henry Wheaton, who was to have seconded this motion but prevented by indisposition, I have great pleasure in seconding the motion. It is well known that the Raja is an object of lively interest in America; he is expected there with greatest anxiety.

The Chairman finally rose :

In proposing this resolution I beg to suggest that the assembly should rise in unanimous approbation of its object.

The meeting accordingly rose and the resolution was carried by acclamation. Rammohun replied :

I am too unwell and too much exhausted to take any active part in this meeting; but I am much indebted to Dr. Kirkland and to Dr. Bowring for the honour they have conferred on me by calling me their fellow-labourer, and to you for admitting me to this society as a brother, and one of your fellow labourers. I am not sensible that I have done anything to deserve being called a promotor of this cause; but with respect to your faith I may observe, that I took the doctrines that you do; but I do this for my own salvation and for my own peace. For the objects of your Society I must confess that I have done very little to entitle me to your gratitude or much admiration of my conduct. What have I done?...I do not know what I have done...If I have rendered you any services they must be very trifling...very trifling I am sure. I laboured under many disadvantages. In the first instance, the Hindoos and the Brahmins, to whom I am related, are all hostile to the cause; and even many Christians there are more hostile to our common cause than the Hindoos and the Brahmins. I have honour for the appellation of Christian; but they always tried to throw obstacles in the way of the principles of Unitarian Christianity. I have found some of them here; but more there. They abhor the notion of simple precepts. They always lay a stress on mystery and mystical points, which serve to delude their followers; and the consequence is, that we meet with such opposition in India that our progress is very slight; and I feel ashamed on my side that I have not made any progress that might have placed me on a footing with my fellow-labourers in this part of the globe. However, if this is the true system of Christianity, it will prevail, notwithstanding all the opposition that may be made to it. Scripture seconds your system of religion; common sense is always on your side; while power

and prejudice are on the side of your opponents. There is a battle going on between reason, scripture and common sense; and wealth, power and prejudice. These three have been struggling with the other three; but I am convinced that your success, sooner or later, is certain. I feel over-exhausted, and therefore conclude with an expression of my heartfelt thanks for the honour that from time to time you have conferred on me, and which I shall never forget to the last moment of my existence.

The Chairman : The Rajah will now allow me, as the representative of this assembly, to take him once more by the hand, and to repeat in your name our deep and heartfelt thanks for his presence on this occasion.

Last to speak was the Rev. W.J. Fox, Editor of the *Monthly Repository* (and friend and patron of the young poet Robert Browning) :

And when our Oriental friend shall return and return he must, (long be it delayed) to his native regions, may he have to report that Europe is not only as supreme as he esteems it in sciences, arts and arms, but is beginning to aspire to a supremacy in benevolence, which shall annihilate all other supremacies, and even in the end its own, by assimilating and exalting, human feeling and human character in all the regions of the world. The Rajah remarked to me the other day, with somewhat of an indignant feeling, that he had been shown a painting of Jesus Christ and that the painter was false, for he had given him the pale European countenance, not remembering that Jesus Christ was an Oriental. The criticism was just. Those theologians have painted falsely too, who have portrayed Christianity as a cold intellectual religion, and not given it that rich Oriental colouring of fancy and of feeling with which the Scriptures glow, and by which they possess themselves not only of the mind, but the heart and soul of man. Oh, thus may our religion appear, creating the whole human race anew in the image of the Creator ?

Rammohun went through a round of engagements^s in public places and with distinguished men, all of which began to add to his importance. This happened so quickly that within two months even the East India Company's attitude to Rammohun changed beyond recognition. A dinner on July 6, 1831 was arranged in his honour presided over by the Company's Chairman and attended by some retired Governors-General besides no less than eighty other important guests. The Company's Chairman expressed the fervent hope that it would now be possible to have more of the Indians come to England for the benefit of exchange of views and suggestions. To which Rammohun replied discreetly :

That day was one to which I am looking forward with the greatest degree of expectation. It rejoices me to be seated amongst a body of gentlemen who have with such humanity and kindness carried on the Government of India.....I feel most grateful to the various illustrious persons who had filled from time to time the office of Governor-General to Lord Cornwallis, Wellesley, Hastings and to Lord William Bentinck who had done all in their power to get good opinion of the natives of India.....

Two months later took place the most noteworthy event, his audience with the King William IV of England. On September 7, 1831 Rammohun Roy was taken by the Right Honourable Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Control, to the levee held at the St. James Palace to be presented to the King. As recorded in the Court circular : "The Rajah wore the costume, viz., the turban and Kabah. The latter was composed of purple velvet, embroidered in gold."

Rammohun was later invited to His Majesty's banquet at the opening of London Bridge. Then came the great Coronation ceremony in which Rammohun was given a place of honour, being seated with the Ambassadors of other countries of Europe. Thus Rammohun was at once elevated to a high place in society.

Ever since his arrival at London he had many occasions to be consulted on Indian administrative affairs and within a few months he found himself attending Select Committees of the House of Commons and having to write voluminous reports in respect of Indian judicial system and revenue system. He was so anxious that Parliament should legislate on the right lines that he almost lost his balance and wrote the following letter to William Rathbone on July 31, 1832 subsequent to the passing of the Reform Bill :

I am now happy to find myself justified in congratulating you and my other friends at Liverpool on the complete success of the Reform Bill, notwithstanding the violent opposition and want of political principle on the part of the aristocrats. The nation can no longer be a prey of the few who used to fill their purses at the expense, nay, to the ruin of the people, for a period of upwards of fifty years. I hope and pray that the people, the mighty people of England, may now in like manner do theirs, cherishing public spirit and liberal principles at the same time banishing bribery, corruption and selfish interests from public proceedings.

As I publicly vowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated I would renounce my connection with this country, I refrained from writing until I knew the result. Thank heaven I can now feel proud of being one of your fellow subjects, and heartily rejoice that I have had the infinite happiness witnessing the salvation of the nation, nay, of the whole world.

Rammohun left for Paris. He was formally presented to King Louis Philip of France with whom he also dined. Fresh honours came from the Asiatic Society in Paris. He then returned to London where important duties needed to be attended to. He was yet to meet people for setting finally the pressing task for which the Emperor of Delhi had commissioned him. But he was feeling exhausted, more exhausted than was natural in the circumstance, and indications of illness appeared rather quickly, in the midst of which came to him the great news of

his final triumph in the *Suttee* law pending before the Privy Council. Also came the news of the renewal of the Charter.

NOTES

1. To trace its course, one has to assess Rev. William Adam's efforts from 1821 upto 1828. Adam's ceaseless endeavours with the assistance of Rammohun, to draw people (to come to listen to his preachings) towards Unitarianism, were at last finding a response, clear and certain but faint in volume, from a section of the cultured hindus. Though Adam felt that the response was not unmixed and not entirely what he or Rammohun wanted, still in the gloomy and uncertain social situation amongst the advanced hindus, this little response, based on Hindu divinity, should be taken as sufficiently indicative for a bright future. Rammohun decided to utilise this response fully in spite of Adam's despair and he took up the work of the formation of Brohmo Sabha. The Sabha came into existence in 1828 and its permanent abode was ready by December 1829. This was the Jorasanko building which was solemnly consecrated on January 23, 1830 (Wednesday, 11th Magh). When a people with a conviction of the unity of godhead got a common place to meet, they felt some inner strength and inspiration and this was indeed a matter of great satisfaction to Rammohun. He felt much relieved that henceforth rational and enlightened thinking would find it easy to develop on right lines. He now felt that with proper men to guide, this place of worship would be permanently suitable for future expansion of Unitarianism.
2. At his father's death, no portion of his father's estate came to Rammohun. According to the Court judgment, Rammohun, in his father's life-time "separated from him and the rest of the family in consequence of his altered habits of life and change of opinions and had been living independently on his own earnings....."
3. India Gazette of February 18, 1834.
4. It was this gentleman who, on hearing of Rammohun's death (1833), hastened to Bristol and took measurements of his cranium. What an irony of fate that Rammohun's skull came to be examined by the same phrenologist whose science he did not take notice of, when they met at Liverpool in 1831.
5. W. Roscoe died a few months later.
6. Jeremy Bentham, at the time quite old (died in 1832) was leading a retired life. For an Englishman, to call on any person at that late hour

of the night was unthinkable yet the fact is that Bentham felt an inner urge to meet Rammohun immediately.

7. **Note on Reception of Rammohun by Unitarian Association, London.**
8. **Since Rammohun's arrival at Liverpool in April 1831, a heavy pressure of work fell on him. His public engagements are summarised below:**

Liverpool—evening parties and meetings extending over a fortnight (including receptions at churches).

Manchester—similar parties (including attendance at Manchester churches) and meeting with William Roscoe at his house.

London—a large number of receptions and attendance at churches of all denominations.

Meeting with Jeremy Bentham at his house in London.

Reception for Rammohun at the Unitarian Association of England.

The East India Company's dinner at City of London Tavern.

Audience with King William IV at St. James' Palace.

His Majesty's banquet at the opening of the London Bridge.

Coronation ceremony of King William IV (Ambassadorial status assigned to him with those of other countries of Europe).

Unitarian Anniversary Divine service.

Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian reforms.

Audience with the King Louis Philip of France and also the banquet.

Second audience with the King of France and the banquet.

Conferment of the Societe Asiatique's Diploma of Honorary Membership. He had been elected a member.

Meeting with Robert Owen, the British socialist.

Presentation of the case of the Emperor of Delhi to the King of England.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Royal Society of Great Britain and Ireland, as Honoured guest.

(Further details will be available in *Appendix 5*.)

Besides the above notable engagements Rammohun attended numerous private gatherings where he discussed with the Church Officials and private men devoted to church work. Special discussions arose out of his views expressed in his work, specially relating to Unitarianism, Trinitarianism and other allied matters.

Rammohun's Papers Written in London on Revenue System and Others

ENGAGEMENTS, public and private, recorded and unrecorded were numerous and these discussions and discourses, by and large religious, social and political, related also to economic and legal subject which needed serious, well-thought-out and sympathetic consideration of the Government. An urgent and comprehensive treatment was particularly needed for subjects like the revenue and judicial systems prevailing in India. Land revenue questions concerned vitally the cultivators, land-holders and the Government, no less the British Parliament. The judicial problems were equally important and vast. Naturally Rammohun concentrated all his thoughts, on problems and their solutions so that the Government might make the best use of them for the levelling up of the country's administration in the coming revision of the Charter. He wrote five Papers :

1. *Revenue System of India* : 54 questions were put and their replies will go down in history as a stupendous work achieved within a short time. The replies were in the form of a paper appended with a statement (August 19, 1831).
2. *Judicial System of India* : 78 questions were put and his own answers were in the form of a paper (September 19, 1831).

3. *Additional Queries respecting the Conditions of India* : 13. questions and their replies (September 28, 1831).
4. *General Character and Condition of the Native Inhabitants* (September 28, 1831).
5. *Settlement of Europeans in India* (July 14, 1832).

Revenue System of India

It is known that before Lord Cornwallis, a year-to-year arrangement was the practice which was followed by a decennial settlement. Lord Cornwallis introduced Permanent Settlement.² The incidence of rent which came into force was as follows :

It is considered in theory that the cultivator pays half the produce to the landholder, out of which half, 10-11ths or 9-10ths constitute the revenue paid to Government, and 1-10th or 1-11th the net rent of the landholder. This half of the produce is a very heavy demand upon the cultivator, after he has borne the whole expense of seed and labour; but in the practice, under the permanent settlement since 1793, the landholders have adopted every measure to raise the rents by means of the power put into their hands (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 40, 7A and p. 57, 13).

All round improvements stated

The amount of assessment fixed on the lands of those provinces at the time of permanent settlement (1793), was as high as had ever been assessed and in many instance higher than ever before been realized by the exertions of any government : Mohammedan or British. Therefore the Government sacrificed nothing in concluding the settlement. If it had not been formed the landholders (Zamindars) would always have taken care to prevent the revenue from increasing by not bringing the waste lands into cultivation, and by elusive arrangements to elude further demands (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 47, 37A).

At the time of the Permanent Settlement (1793), the amount of the revenue which had been paid on each estate (Zamindari) in the preceding year was taken as a standard of assessment, subject to certain modification. Estates (Taluka) which had paid a revenue directly to Government for the twelve years previous without fluctuation were to be assessed at that rate, and the principle of that assessment was considered to be nearly one-half of the gross produce. In Behar and other places the gross amount of the rents arising from an estate was fixed upon at the rate of Government assessment, allowing, however, a deduction of ten per cent to the landholder (Zamindar), in the name of proprietor's dues (Malikana) and also something for the expense of collecting the rents. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 41, 10A).

Improvements in the condition of the landholders

Their condition has been much improved : because, being secured by the Permanent Settlement against further demands of revenue, in proportion to the improvement of their estates they have in consequence brought the waste lands into cultivation, and raised the rents of their tenantry, and thus increased their own income, as well as the resources of the country.....I would propose, first, that the collectors should not by any means be armed with magisterial power, secondly, that any charge against the revenue officers should be at once investigated by the judicial courts (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 47, 36A)

The new system acted upon during the last forty years, having enabled the landholders to ascertain the full measurement of the lands to their own satisfaction, and by successive exactions to raise the rents of the cultivators to the utmost possible extent, the very least I can propose and the least which Government can do for bettering the condition of the peasantry, is absolutely to interdict any further increase of rent on any pretence whatsoever;

particularly on no consideration to allow the present settled and recognised extent of the land to be disturbed by pretended re-measurements; and in forming the Permanent Settlement. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 45, 31A)

On finding any Zamindar guilty of demanding more than the rent of the preceding years, should subject such offender to a severe fine; and on discovering any police officer or native commissioner guilty of connivance or neglect, he should subject them to fine and dismissal from service. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 46, 34A)

Some important observations made :

When the revenue of an estate falls into arrear, the Government by its own authority sells property. But the proprietor cannot sell the property of a cultivator, except by the means of the judicial authority, which generally expedites the recovery of such balance. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 43, 20A)

Important Comments on Perpetual Settlement of Public Revenue (Rammohun's Paper on Revenue System, (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Part III)

2. To avoid the demand of an increase of revenue on the part of Government, proprietors in general used then wilfully to neglect the cultivation, which very often proved utterly ruinous to themselves, and excessively inconvenient to Government, in managing, farming or selling such estates for the purpose of realizing their revenues. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 55).

3. This enormous augmentation of the price of land is principally to be attributed to the extensive cultivation of waste lands, which has taken place in every part of the country, and to the rise of rents payable by the cultivators, and not to any other cause that I can trace..... (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 55)

4. It is true the common increase of wealth has an irresistible tendency to augment the price, without any improving change in the property; but when we reflect on the extent of overwhelming poverty throughout the country (towns and their vicinity excepted), we cannot admit that increase of wealth in general has been the cause of actual rise in the value of landed estates. To those who have ever made a tour of the provinces, either on public duty or from motives of curiosity, it is well-known that within a circle of a hundred miles in any part of the country there are to be found very few, if any (besides proprietor's lands), that have the least pretension to wealth or independence, or even the common comforts of life. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 56).

5. It has been asserted, and perhaps justly, that much of the increased wealth of Bengal in late years is to be ascribed to the opening of trade in 1814, thereby occasioning a greatly increased demand for produce of lands. In as far, however, as this cause may have operated to increase of wealth, it is confined to landholders and dealers in commodities. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 56).

8. None will, I think, hesitate to rejoice in the augmentation of the incomes of proprietors derived from the extension of cultivation, as every man is entitled by law and reason to enjoy the fruits of his honest labour and good management. But as to the policy of vesting in the proprietors themselves, exempted from any increase of tax, the power of augmenting rents due from their Khund-kasht tenants, I must confess it to be a subject that requires examination. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rommohun Roy*, Part III, d. 56).

11. In short, there were three parties, acknowledged to have had a fixed right in the soil : 1st, the Ryots to cultivate the land, and receive one-half of the produce in return for the seed and labour, 2nd, the Government, in return for its general protection, to receive the other half, with the exception

of one-tenth or eleventh, 3rd, the Zamindars, or land-holders, to receive the tenth or eleventh for their local protection, and for their intervention between the Government and the peasantry. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 57).

14. With a view to facilitate the collection of revenue and to encourage proprietors to improve their estates, Government liberally relieved them in the year 1793 from the distress and difficulties originating in the uncertainty of assessment, by concluding a perpetual settlement with them. But I am at a loss to conceive why this indulgence was not extended to their tenants, by requiring proprietors to follow the example of Government, in fixing a definite rent to be received from each cultivator, according to the average sum actually collected from him during a given term of years; or why the feeling of compassion excited by the miserable condition of the cultivators do not now induce the government to fix a maximum standard, corresponding with the sum of rent now paid by each cultivator in one year, and positively interdict any further increase. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 57)

15. Some however, doubt whether government can now assume the power of bettering the condition of this immense portion of its subjects, without violating the long-standing practice of the country (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 58)

16. With respect to the Regulations, however, there would be no real violation of them, as in Regulation 1 of 1793, which is the basis of the Permanent Settlement, the Government thus expressly declares, that "it being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people, and more particularly those who from their situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such regulations as he may think necessary, for the protection and welfare of the dependent Talookdars, Ryots, and other cultivators of the soil : and

no Zamindar, independent Talookdar, or other actual proprietors of land, shall be entitled on this account to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment which they have respectively agreed to pay. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 58).

22. With respect to the expediency and advantage of appointing native revenue officers to the higher situations in the revenue department, I am strongly supported by the opinions of persons whose sentiments have great weight with the governing party as well as with the party governed. I can safely quote the remarks of many distinguished servants of the Honourable East India Company, such as Sir Thomas Munro, Mr. Robert Rickards, Mr. H. Ellis, and others. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy* Part III, p. 60)

24. "For the present, perhaps, it would be proper to transfer the duty of selling the property of defaulting landholders to the registrars; and the judge, instead of referring causes to the revenue officers, should submit them to the Sudder Ameens or native commissioners already appointed to decide causes under a certain amount. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 60).

25. In order to prevent the exercise of any undue influence or bribery in obtaining the situation of native collectors of revenue, it is requisite that all the present Serishtadars or head native officers attached to the different collectorships, should each be confirmed, at once, in the situation of collecting, and in case of his death or removal, the next in rank should succeed him.....(Nag and Burman : *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 60).

26. The present collectors may be transferred, if found qualified, to the judicial or some other department, or allowed to retire on suitable pensions. Besides the Board of Revenue, who should exercise a constant superintendence over the revenue branch, there should be six or eight

European civil servants of the Company, who stand high in the estimation of the Government, appointed under the denomination of circuit collectors, to examine personally, from time to time, the records kept, and the proceeding held by the native collectors. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 61).

27. At all events I must conclude with beseeching any and authority to devise some mode of alleviating the present miseries of the agricultural peasantry of India and thus discharge their duty every their fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 61).

Warren Hastings

Rammohun was in his teens (about 16/17 years old) when Hastings was ruling. Rammohun was living in his own cell of intellectualism engrossed in thoughts for social regeneration of Bengal and the country.

Hastings was preoccupied with his own problems of administration due to disturbances and hostilities in different parts of India. This led him to make arbitrary exactions and mean tactics of economic exploitation. In the administration, he could not straighten out many knotty problems and became high-handed in land revenue matters.

He however did some great and unique things in Bengal, viz., engaging some bright young civilians of that time to revive the past glories of India's contributions in different branches of knowledge which ultimately led to what came to be known as Bengal Renaissance.

Lord Cornwallis

Cornwallis came and gave his whole attention to administrative affairs without caring much for other improvements in the life of the people. He wanted economic improvement and greater financial solvency for the State. Therefore the first thing to which his attention was directed was the question of raising and stabilising land revenue and along with

it the question of improving agriculture. He felt that larger revenues were essential for carrying out also war projects. He also felt that the people of Bengal should fully realise the huge possibilities of development in various directions. At home in England, he studied the working of the perpetual settlement of land revenue and the idea obsessed him that such a settlement should be equally beneficial for India. He set himself to this task and in this he was depending upon several friends and also Sir John Shore and other British experts.

Cornwallis in full appreciation

Cornwallis honestly felt that Providence had placed him in charge of a great country with large potentialities but whose economic progress was miserably slow. Along with his other English friends, Cornwallis thought that Permanent Settlement would go a long way to solve the many problems which Bengal was facing. We read the following in a Minute written in 1790 on the economic condition of Bengal :

Cornwallis wrote that England was fortunate in establishing her domination over one of the most fertile countries on the face of the globe. The population, according to his description, was mild and industrious. The real value of the possessions depended upon the ability to furnish a large annual investment to Europe to give considerable assistance to the treasury at Canton, and to supply the wants of other presidencies. As a consequence of the heavy drain of wealth from these causes with the addition of that which was occasioned by the remittance of private fortunes there was great diminution of the current specie, and a langour had spread over the cultivation and general commerce of the country. He, therefore, thought that a material alteration in the general principles of management was necessary so that the inhabitants might be roused and their industry increased. His panacea was the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue of Bengal. The diagnosis was not wrong though the remedy prescribed could not effect the cure. (Dr. N.K. Sinha : *Economic History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 238).

Charles Grant

This was in the early nineties of the Eighteenth century. But going back even earlier, by at least 14/15 years, one would see that the dominant figure of Charles Grant was presiding over Bengal's destiny in the hands of East India Company, in many ways. He had his own conservative ideas which were very much against the advancing interests of India. Besides, he was one of those who, strangely enough, thought that India needed Christianity for better life and progress. He further believed that India was as intimately tied up with England and India's economy and progress were so bound up with England that if East India Company's monopoly was withdrawn, at any time, India would cease to continue to grow and would lapse into inefficiency. In other words, Grant firmly believed that India's progress depended on British administration and monopoly. There were however other Englishmen (British traders, manufacturers, shipping interests, etc.) who strongly favoured the abolition of monopoly in the hope that healthy and fair competition would tend to increase the volume of trade between India and England. As the idea of free trade began to gain ground, the influence and stature of Charles Grant began to suffer. Round about this time, Grant left for England and Rammohun's activities began to be more and more intense, though, to the economic field, his energies were directed much later. However much we may regret, probably it was all for the good of Bengal that his mental propensities naturally directed him first to social, moral and then religious reform.

It will be seen that even after Permanent Settlement came, due to apathy of the East India Company on the one hand and lack of Indian capital on the other, industrial and agricultural development made very slow progress during the twenty years which followed. Without absolving the Indian peasantry of its main responsibility for this backwardness, it can be argued that the Government also should have done much in that direction, since a steady flow of revenue came into the coffers of the Government which met all demands of the state including heavy expenditure on wars etc. No doubt the landlords also benefited enormously⁴ and the state being in a

healthy condition, money should have flowed under certain stipulations towards improving agriculture. With the renewal of the Charter in 1813, which incorporated good many liberal measures, Bengal's position should have improved much.

During these twenty years, Rammohun spent all his energies in intellectual pursuits with a view to social reforms, creating an atmosphere in India (particularly Bengal) of liberal and useful thinking which, to a certain extent, drew larger attention. While thus engaged, he was dragged into litigations and harassed by his own kith and kin. Another ten years passed in various social activities when his attention was directed to the complaints in respect of coffee and indigo plantations. When he looked into them he also saw the state of both agriculture and industry in the country. By now his mind was disturbed at the backwardness prevailing in both agriculture and industry for want of technical skill, capital and enterprise. He now boldly pleaded for colonisation of Europeans into the interior of the country under certain conditions. All these brought him to the summit of controversy and fame.

Now that Rammohun was in England, and the question of revision of the Charter was before the British Parliament, Rammohun was enlightening the public, in English papers, with his views on Revenue and Judicial matters, as indicated by the Select Committees. He laid stress on the following matters.

Inequity to the Ryots in the legislation of Permanent Settlement

Rammohun pointed out that the peasantry suffered as much under Permanent Settlement as in the Ryotwari Settlement. In the former, one was a victim of the Zamindar's greed and oppression and in the latter, he was a victim of endless intrigues and coercion. Rammohun suggested that for the protection of these cultivators from extortion, the least that could be done by the Government would be to take away the magisterial powers from the collectors. He however did not fail to see that when Cornwallis made his plan, he had probably not anticipated all these evils. To say this in favour of Cornwallis

or any legislator is a special pleading. In an attempt to remove some of these evils, Bentinck passed several Regulations. Rammohun had his own views, brief extracts of which have been given above all to show how keenly Rammohun felt for the Ryots.

Regulation III—Lakheraj (Lands) Regulation

Some time earlier, in 1828, when Bentinck was the Governor-General, a regulation known as Regulation III, otherwise known as the Lakheraj Regulation had been passed and Rammohun had an occasion to protest against the form of the Government's land resumption proceedings since he felt that under this Regulation, the promise given by previous Governor-General was being dishonoured. Regulation XIX (1793) had assured the landholders of rent-free lands that these would not be subjected to payment of revenue, unless, their titles were found defective by courts. The Regulation of 1828 withdrew this above assurance, enabling the Government to confiscate a large number of revenue-free lands. Rammohun criticised it as a betrayal on the part of the Government and he drew up a petition on behalf of the landholders of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, but the petition was rejected. Among the many petitions submitted, the most weighty was that of Rammohun in whose praise the Court of Directors felt impelled to write the following few lines to the despatch dated February 23, 1830 :

Among the petitions against Regulation III, 1828, which have been noticed in a preceding part of this despatch, there is one which we have stated to be anonymous; we have now to notice that an exact duplicate of that petition has since been presented to us, with the signatures of above 200 individuals annexed to it, accompanied by a letter addressed to our secretary in this department by four natives, named Dwarkanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Pursunno Komar Tagore, and Rammohun Roy. The intelligence of the above-named individuals is acknowledged to be much superior to that of the native aristocracy in general. However much, therefore, we may doubt whether any considerable number of the petitioners are capable of understanding the arguments which it contains we are not the less disposed to give

due consideration to the expression of the sentiments of such individuals on a question which so generally affects the interests of the native community as well as those of the state.

Ryotwari Settlement

Ryotwari Settlement developed in regions of Madras; in a fragmentary and crude form it had been in existence for a long time. After studying Madras conditions in detail for 7 years, Thomas Munro left exhaustive notes and reports. At last in 1820, the Ryotwari system was introduced. The following are the observations on the system as seen and described on the lapse of 'considerable period of time by the innovators and their associates :

1. Thomas Munro declared in 1807 and in 1813 that in essence it was as permanent as the Zamindari settlement of Bengal except in regard to wastelands; yet from the following, it will be seen that the results were not as anticipated :

The Ryotwari system was introduced finally in all unsettled tracts in Madras in 1820, but the permanency of the assessments, recognised and admitted by the Madras Government down to 1862, has since been ignored. The uncertainty of the State demand, now altered at each recurring settlement on grounds which are unintelligible to the people, leaves the agricultural population of Madras in a state of perpetual uncertainty and chronic poverty. (R.C. Dutt : *Economic History of India*, p. 103)

2. We find that the Board of Revenue of Madras in 1818 observed :

The Ryotwari settlement, 'in fact, was made annually, frequently by the Tahsildars and Sheristadars (subordinate low-paid officers), and was not in general concluded until after the crop had been raised; the system then was to make as high a settlement as it was practicable to realise. If the crop was good, the demand was raised as high within the survey rates as the means of the Ryots would admit...(R.C. Dutt : *Economic History of India*, p. 100).

3. As Governor of Madras, Sir Thomas Munro did all he could to foster the village institutions; he organised Panchayets, and conferred on them judicial powers and he endeavoured to continue the village communities of India as living and organic institutions such as they had been in the past. But all these endeavours failed. When all real power was taken away from old institutions, forms of authority could not keep them alive. (R.C. Dutt : *Economic History of India*, p. 103).

4. Dutt further observed that Collectors were encouraged to break up joint-tenure wherever it existed and to enter into engagements with tenants separately. The high rate of assessment, by which the State demand was fixed at 45 per cent or 55 per cent of the field produce, caused endless oppression and was generally reduced under the considerate administration of Sir Thomas Munro.

5. The eminent economist further observed :

“...we see the growing partiality of Thomas Munro for the Ryotwari system in tracts of country where there were no hereditary Zamindars. In places like Bengal and the Northern Circars, where the prevailing system was the possession of lands by great landlords, the Government had continued that system and made settlements with Zamindars. In other places, where the prevailing system was the payment of the revenues by the ryots or cultivators direct to the State, Munro continued that system and made settlements direct with the ryots. It was necessary and essential to give some permanency to the Government demand, in both cases, for the improvement of agriculture and the prosperity of the people. This was done by Lord Cornwallis in Bengal; and this was desired and recommended by Thomas Munro for Madras, but has never been done. Here lies the fatal defect in land settlements of Southern India.” (R.C. Dutt : *Economic History of India*, p. 85).

Dutt has been most eloquent when he described the land revenue matters of Bengal as follows :

Land revenue matter of Bengal is a measure which has done more to secure the prosperity and happiness of British subjects in India than any other single measure of British Government. (R.C. Dutt : *Economic History of India*, p. 6).

While concluding, it is worth recapitulating the sequence of introduction of land revenue measures in India. The Permanent Settlement of the land revenues, which was concluded in Bengal in 1793 was extended to Benares in 1795 and to the Northern Circars and other tracts between 1802 and 1805. It stands out as the most notable and the most beneficent act of civil administration within this period.

As Dutt remarked :

The land revenue administration had been settled wisely or unwisely in Bengal in 1793, in Madras in 1820 and also in reformed Mahalwari settlement in Northern area in 1833 and Ryotwari settlement in Bombay in 1835. (R.C. Dutt : *Economic History of India*, pp. 10-11).

Questions that agitated Rammohun's mind for further elucidation :

- (a) What other terms could be considered for renting of the farm ?
- (b) How to stop frequent increase of rent ?
- (c) What should be the most satisfactory relation between rent and gross produce of the land ?
- (d) What effective measures can be adopted to prevent sale of land consequent on revenue arrears ?
- (e) What precautions can be taken for Collectors' conducts in respect of sales in a fair way ?
- (f) How could the Government ensure quick revenue collection keeping cultivators' interest safe ?

- (g) What improvements can be suggested on the basis of revenue assessed by Government on each estate ?

Public criticism of Rammohun's evidence

On the evidence submitted to the Government by the various parties, the Tory organ *John Bull* expressed the opinion (the liberal English Press kept silent) that Rammohun's evidence was by far the most sensible of the lot.

Fulsome praise came from other newspapers. *Samachar Durpan* commented (March 1832) :

We learn from the *Indian Gazette* that a series of questions had been addressed to Rammohun Roy, in writing, on the Revenue, Judicial, and Commercial system of India, to which he has now been preparing replies. Those on the Revenue system have been given in, and are said to have afforded the highest gratification. His answers to questions on the Judicial system of India were nearly finished in the beginning of September. The whole, when complete, will present a complete view of the Civil, Criminal and Financial system of the country. He is said to have suggested various improvements, such as the Trial by Jury, Native Judicial Assessors, Joint Judges, Regular Public Register, Codes of Civil and Criminal law, the use of the English instead of Persian language, etc.

Bombay Courier remarked in December 1832 :

Already we are in a condition to appreciate the advantages likely to result from the visit of the intelligent Hindu who is domiciliated with us. In his answers to some serious questions proposed by the India Board, Rammohun Roy has expressed frankly his sentiments respecting a variety of very important points connected with the internal administration of British India. This evidence, probably the most valuable which has been hitherto recorded on Indian topics, is printed in one of the voluminous Appendices to the

Report of the Parliamentary Committee, where it is not likely to attract the attention it deserves.....

India Gazette said (June 1832) :

We are happy to perceive the interest with which Raja Rammohun Roy's replies to the Parliamentary queries on the revenue system of India has been received by the native community. We have now before us the queries made to him and his answers regarding the judicial system now prevalent; but as it would occupy too much of our space to give them entire, we propose to form an abridgement of them, and in our paper of next Saturday to insert the opinion he has given upon the existing system, and, in a subsequent paper, the suggestions which he has made for its improvement. The fact of a native of India's appearance before Parliament to give his opinion upon the character of the system of Government in this empire, is so novel, and the opinions he has expressed are so important, that we feel it unnecessary to apologize for devoting the columns of the *Durpan* to the subject.

As against such appreciative remarks there were the unfavourable³ ones of, for instance, *Bengal Harkaru* (on June 20, 1832) :

We have re-published from the Asiatic Journal of March, Rammohun Roy's replies to queries on the Revenue System of India, and we think most of our readers will agree with us in saying that it is not what might have been expected from one of his known talents and professed principles. There are, in many parts, marks of a tendency to soften, a sort of "velvet condemnation" or "sarcenet surety" that, had not his name been attached to them, we could never have supposed the replies to be his. There is no want of clear and explicit information on many heads, but on others we are grieved to find him committing himself sadly. But it will be better to adduce instances of what we are advancing and to comment on them as we proceed." The *Harkaru* then took up the question : "In the event of the tenants

falling into arrear with their rent, what means do the proprietors adopt for realizing it?" and gave Rammohun's answer : "They distrain their moveable property, with some exceptions, by the assistance of the police officers, and get it sold by means of the judicial authorities." Referring to this answer the *Harkaru* commented : "This reply is utter trimming, we will not say it was intended to mislead, but in truth we are at a loss to say for what it could be intended, when we find it again referred to in queries 28-29, and the same shuffling misleading answers given."

The second question which the *Harkaru* took up was : "Does the legal authority seize upon both the moveable property and the person of the tenant for his rent?" To this Rammohun's answer was : "On a summary application to the police, the moveable property of the tenant, with some exceptions, is distrained by the help of the police officers; and by the ordinary judicial process, the immoveable property of the tenant may be attached, and his person arrested for the recovery of the rent." The *Harkaru* reacted severely : "We say this is a shuffling and a misleading⁵ answer; it is the answer of an unwilling witness; of one not inclined to say all he knew of "his order", and thus calculated to mislead the committee and indeed almost every man who had not given the subject his special attention; for it utterly glosses over that which Rammohun Roy must know (and no man better knows it) to be the very plague-spot of our administration; the curse on the land; the bend by which the unfortunate ryot is held, and bought, and sold, as the thrall and the serf of the farmer of the revenue for the time being; and through the abuse of which the whole of the settled provinces are at the moment racked with illegal exactions to an amount utterly incredible to those unacquainted with the details of the subject; How could Rammohun Roy in these replies, forget the Seventh Regulation of 1799?"

Seventh Regulation of 1799

It makes provisions for special powers of restraint on the

part of Zamindars. But it was for emergency only. Zamindars were not expected to take this aggressive role except in very special cases. It always created public agitation.

Taking up the comments from both sides, the *Durpan* remarked warily :

Rammohun Roy obtains little credit for his evidence. The *Hurkaru* rates him for being too favourable to the Zamindars; the *Chundrika* on the other hand is perpetually decrying him for having injured the Zamindars in his evidence. We offer no opinion on the subject. Great good-will, we have no doubt, flow to the country from Rammohun Roy's visit to England and from the exertions he is making. If we had any doubt on this subject, they would be dispelled by his having succeeded in displeasing both parties in India. The truth lies between them.

In the Appendix to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs, submitted in 1831-32, there were papers written by Rammohun Roy when he was in England. These were his replies to the queries raised by the Board of Control, covering seventeen folio pages, with interesting and important observations relating to the position of the Government, cultivators, Zamindars and others. They threw a flood of light on the working of the existing Judicial System and on Government policy in allied matters. Written by a reformer, a nationalist, a thorough and competent expert like Rammohun Roy, the opinions, observations and recommendations deserved the best consideration of the Government and the public. A large amount of them still holds good even to-day though they were written about a century and a half ago.

Bishop Heber's Views about Land Tax in India

Bishop Heber, who was in Calcutta in 1823, recorded in the Diary of his travels during 1824, 1825, 1826 through different provinces of India that he was struck by the appalling poverty of the people. He ascribed it to the heavy land-tax in vogue all over the land. His letter to Hon'ble C.W. Wynn in 1826 noted :

Neither native nor European agriculturists, I think, can thrive at the present rate of taxation. Half the gross produce of the soil is demanded by Government and this, which is nearly the average rate wherever there is not a Permanent Settlement is sadly too much to leave an adequate provision for the present, even with the usual frugal habits of the Indians, and the very inartificial and cheap manner in which they cultivate the land. Still more is it an effective bar to anything like improvement, it keeps the people, even in favourable years, in a state of abject penury; and when the crop fails in even a slight degree, it involves a necessity on the part of the Government of enormous outlays in the way of remission and distribution, which, after all, do not prevent men, women, and children dying in the streets in droves, and the roads being strewn with carcasses. In Bengal, where, independent of its exuberant fertility, there is a Permanent Assessment, famine is unknown. In Hindustan (Northern India), on the other hand, I found a general feeling among the King's officers, and I myself was led from some circumstances to agree with them, that the peasantry in the Company's Provinces are, on the whole, worse off, poorer, and more dispirited, than the subjects of the Native Princes; and here in Madras, where the soil is, generally speaking, poor, the difference is said to be still more marked. The fact is, no Native Prince demands the rent which we do, and making every allowance for the superior regularity of our system, &c., I met with very few men who will not, in confidence, own their belief that the people are overtaxed, and that the country is in a gradual state of impoverishment..... I am convinced that it is only necessary to draw less money from the peasants, and to spend more of what is drawn within the country, to open some door to Indian industry in Europe, and to admit the natives to some greater share in the magistracy of their own people, to make the Empire as durable as it would be happy. (Bishop Heber : *Memoirs and Correspondence*, Edited by his Widow, London, 1830, Vol. II, p. 413).

Permanent Settlement—its larger significance

It has been authoritatively stated that the Dinajpur (Bengal) records show the efficacy of long-term tenure as against year-to-year tenure. Long-term tenure gets a fair chance of making the economy stable and provides better security to the peasants. The other alternative, *viz.*, year-to-year tenure, is adopted when the administration has not got sufficient time to make a clear survey and foresee the future as may arise. One can read in the British Parliamentary debates that Warren Hastings, in resorting to annual leases and arbitrary rents, aggravated the land problems in Bengal by making the financial position of the peasants very uncertain and weak. As it happened, political matters all over India were moving fast and this reflected on the main administration, centred in Bengal. Because of war conditions prevailing in many parts of India for which money had to be found, revenue collection acquired an urgency. Cornwallis felt that long-term agreement was the only way to solve the problem. Among the experts entrusted with such a scheme were Richard Becher, John Shore and James Grant in England. They drafted in 1792 the letter by which the Court of Directors formally brought Permanent Settlement into existence. This benefited most of those who were given the special privilege of collecting revenues on behalf of Government, especially in view of the fact that these rent collectors (later called Zamindars), though compelled to enter into an agreement with the Government on a permanent basis, were not obliged to enter into similar agreements with the ryots which could make their position equally secure. It has been stated that such agreements with the ryots would have been very difficult because the work involved in such a scheme was vast and equally risky.

It was natural therefore that the Zamindars in such circumstances were not only grateful but also showed utmost loyalty to the Government. The security of tenure gave them opportunity to concentrate on agricultural improvement and also incentive to give attention to industries connected with agriculture. At that early period of the nineties in Bengal, *laissez*

faire was very naturally the order of the time. If after the introduction of Permanent Settlement, land attracted people's capital more than industry, it was clear that affluent section in the area of Bengal were swayed by the prospect of easy and certain profits. To ascribe low motives now to the promulgators of Permanent Settlement would be unfair. Certainly Cornwallis wanted Permanent Settlement only for the purpose of quick and sure collection of revenues on which the entire Indian administration depended. It also enabled the Government to impose a high assessment on the Zamindars by compensating them in return by leaving the ryots at their mercy so that the Government revenue realisation could be at its highest.

It is said that Permanent Settlement created, for the first time, private property in land. This may be only partially true, for, in some form or the other, private property had been in existence since long and it was a fact that a large amount of merchant-capital in the hands of Indians had come to be invested in land. To some extent this had coincided with the decline of the textile industry in Bengal and the break-up of the Company's monopoly after 1813, when private merchants found themselves in need of capital for trade with England. This trend was intensified from 1833 with the replacement of the *Agency Houses* by the Managing Agency system (of private businessmen). Initially, it was the British who could invest and hence they made large profits. Indians followed with good success though the bulk of them chose money-lending or *Mahajani business* and also house-property investments like the Roys of Bhagyakul or the Lahas of Calcutta or the Parsees of Bombay and the Chettis of Madras.

There is a strong view that Permanent Settlement acted as a great hindrance to quick modernisation of Bengal by reinforcing the inertia of traditional thinking and inclinations. But while it is a fact that a very large part of capital accumulation that arose in Bengal was diverted to land, it is still a debatable point as to how it arose for, it is equally a fact that modernisation first came to Bengal. The critics of Permanent Settlement might advance the plea that it is the Dayabhag Law which helped the accumulation of capital more in Bengal than

in other regions where Mitakshara law prevails. The view is sufficiently forceful.

Summing up, Rammohun's papers on Economic and other issues, his evidence before the Select Committees in England etc., all go to show that he presented a balanced account of the country's economic situation and its future lines of approach. *Bengal Hurkaru* was vehemently opposed to his evidence as favouring the land-holders' interests and the *Sama-char Chundrika* was equally strongly against him as inimical to the landholders' interests. The fact, however, remains somewhere in the middle, for, Rammohun was a hard realist who knew full well that in the situation before the country, too much of a demand complicated in nature would be futile. He knew that in an attempt to improve the ryots' interests in the then economic situation of the country, a greater chaos might come in as the landholders had by now become a strong force. Rammohun was aware that the liberal paper *Bengal Hurkaru's* comments were hardly sincere in favour of the ryots, for its aim was to tarnish his image. Probably it would be more correct to say that at this time of his life he was more interested in minimising the importance of East India Company's powers and its area of activities in trade and commerce. will be seen that in the renewed Charter of 1833, the Company ceased to be a trading body.

NOTES

1. See Nag and Burman : *Rammohun's English Works*, Part III, p. 11 Questions and Answers on Judicial System; p. 39 for Questions and Answers on Revenue System; p. 55 for his Paper on Revenue System. The papers written for evidence communicated by Rammohun were printed in Vol. V, pp. 716-741 of the Report.
2. The Permanent Settlement of 1793 was a frank attempt to apply the Whig philosophy of Government on India (see Eric Stokes : *English Utilitarians and India*). It was a British model and well thought out. It will not be correct to say that serious thoughts were not bestowed on the matter. Under the Permanent Zamindari Settlement of 1793 in the province of Bengal, the annual land assessment was to be equal to

the *jumma* paid by a Zamindari estate in the preceding year (the year when the land assessment was originally fixed). This was the standard of assessment permanently fixed.

3. Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun's*, Part III, p. 55,—Paper on Revenue System.
4. An idea has gone around that the Permanent Settlement system, though undeniably beneficial to the Government, proved too advantageous to the landholders; the vast wealth which they were supposed to have derived from it excited in the minds of some an anxiety to devise a ground for overturning it. The fact, however, is that even the greatest landholder in the country, such as the Raja of Burdwan, who paid a land tax of between 30 and 40 lakhs of rupees to the Government, did not receive more than six or eight lakhs, about 20% on the amount collected, for his own share as proprietor. For this sum he incurred an immense responsibility since he was punishable for thefts and robberies committed within the estate and subject to loss by inundation and failure of crops. The generality of the Zamindars were by no means favourably situated, a fact clearly proved by the estates which come under the immediate management of the Government in the Court of Wards and by the frequent sales of estates for arrears of revenue (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun*, Part III, App. IV, p. 72).
5. That Rammohun was full of sympathy for the peasants within the frame-work of the law, will be abundantly clear from Rammohun's answers in paragraphs cited earlier, thus :

.....the very least I can propose and the least which Government can do for bettering the condition of the peasantry, is absolutely to interdict any further increase of rent on any pretence whatsoever; particularly, on no consideration to allow the present settled recognised extent of the land to be disturbed by pretended re-measurements; and.....

.....on finding any Zamindar guilty of demanding more than the rest of the preceding years, should subject such offender to a severe fine; and on discovering any police officer or native commissioner guilty of connivance or neglect, he should subject them to fine and dismissal from the service.
6. Another point needs clarification : regarding the views expressed a little earlier by the *Bengal Harkaru*, it may be observed that when the journal made unfavourable comments on Rammohun for his answer (in its issue of June 20, 1832), it seems to have forgotten that Rammohun had to state the law on the point and not to dwell on excesses on either side.

Rammohun on Judicial System of India

LORD Bentinck's Government passed a Regulation for enabling European functionaries to avail themselves of the assistance of respectable natives in the administration of civil or criminal justice and for modifying or dispensing with Futwas by Mahomedan Law officers in certain trials, known as "Regulation VI of 1832 of the Bengal Code." This helped, as an additional measure, to test whether the system of "Trial by Jury" could be made thoroughly successful in India. Rammohun had a hand in this progressive step and *Samachar Durpan* paid him high eulogies. The *Durpan* remarked :

We are partial to Rammohun Roy; we confess the charge and would now offer as an additional reason for that partiality that both the benevolent provisions of this Regulation have been distinctly recommended by him to Parliament. If we say that it was the remarks of Rammohun which suggested these enactments to the Governor-General, then we cannot conceive a greater honour for him; if it be said that these useful regulations occurred simultaneously to both, without any mutual communication, we must regard this fact as a test of the just views and the benevolent intention, of the Raja. In either case, the *Chundrika* will see that

his dislike for Rammohun Roy is misplaced, that our partiality for him is founded upon reason.

Grant's Bill, based on, but largely modified and liberalised by Wynn's Act, came soon after. Its objective was to delete the clauses which made invidious distinctions against the Indians. The happy news of the passing of Grant's "East India Justices of Peace and Juries Bill", sent by Rammohun in a letter to a friend in India, was reflected in the following comment in the *Reformer* :

Nothing could have been more fortunate for India than the presence of Raja Rammohun Roy in England at this juncture. The explanations he is capable of affording on Indian subjects, and the weight which must be attached to his opinion not only from their bearing internal testimony of truth, but also from the circumstances of his being a Hindoo, must operate very powerfully to produce the best results for India. The question of colonial representation has been sufficiently examined to convince every impartial person that the colonies would be greatly benefited by having representatives in Parliament. On the same principle, if Raja Rammohun Roy is personally at the seat of the Government, he can do a great deal for our good. His well known zeal and talents have already been exerted in the cause of his country, and who can say for how many of the privileges we here enjoy we are not indebted to this faithful friend of India. It is true he is not in Parliament, and must therefore express his sentiments in that Assembly by proxy; but considering the cause he advocates and the influence he enjoys, it will always be easy for him to have very able proxies in Parliament to make those representations in regard to India which he himself might have made had he a seat in that Assembly. Raja Rammohun Roy must not be robbed of that need of praise which is due to him for the share he has in the advancement of his countrymen in knowledge and civilisation; but the benefits he now confers on his country by his zealous efforts in England, now the fountain-head of all the good and evils which India experiences, surpass all his past service in her cause.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons, which was appointed in June 1831 to consider the renewal of the Company's Charter, invited Rammohun Roy to appear before it. He declined to appear personally and tendered¹ his evidence in the form of successive communications to the Board of Control, which besides duly appearing in the Blue Books, were published by him in a separate volume, entitled *Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India, etc.*

In his questions and answers on the Judicial System of India, Rammohun gave² useful information and also took pains to make elaborate suggestion³ out of which some very important ones of abiding interest are given below :

2. Q. Do you think that the system hitherto acted upon is calculated to secure justice ?

A. The Judicial system established in 1793 by Lord Cornwallis was certainly well adopted to the situation of the country.

3. Q. Explain particularly in what points you consider the practical operation of the system defective.

A. In the want of a sufficient number of judges and magistrates, in the want of adequate qualification in many of them to discharge the duty in a foreign language and in the want of a proper code of laws by which they might be easily guided.

4. Q. Can you explain what evils result from the want of a greater number of judges ?

A. The courts being necessarily few in number in comparison to the vast territories under the British rule, many of the inhabitants are situated at so great a distance from them, that the poorer classes are, in general, unable to go and seek redress for any injury, particularly those who may be oppressed by their wealthier neighbours, possessing great local influence.

6. Q. Can you point out what obstructions to the

administration of justice are produced by the want of a better code of laws ?

A. The Regulations published from year to year by the local government since 1793, which serve as instructions to the courts, are so voluminous, complicated, and in many instances, either too concise or too exuberant, that they are generally considered not a clear and easy guide.

7. *Q.* Is there any other impediment to the fair administration of justice besides those you have stated ?

A. The first obstacle to the administration of justice is, that its administrators and the persons among it is administered have no common language. Secondly, that owing partly to this cause and also in a great measure to the difference of manners, etc., the communication between these two parties is very limited in consequence of which the judges can with the utmost difficulty acquire an adequate knowledge of the real nature of the grievances of the persons seeking redress, or the real character and validity of the evidence by which their claims are supported or opposed.

10. *Q.* Would it be advantageous to substitute the English language in the courts, instead of the Persian ?

A. The English language would have the advantage of being the vernacular language of the judges; with regard to the native inhabitants it would no doubt, in the meantime, have the same disadvantage as the Persian; but its gradual introduction in the courts would still, notwithstanding, prove ultimately beneficial to them by promoting the study of English.

12. *Q.* Do the judges treat the native pleaders with the consideration and respect due to their office ?

A. They are not always treated in the inferior courts with the consideration due to their office.

14. *Q.* Do not the native judicial officers employed under the judge assist him in his proceedings ?

A. Of course they assist him, and that very materially.

17. Q. Are not the judges assisted also by Hindu and Muhammedan lawyers, appointed to act as interpreters of the law ?

A. They are; learned natives of this description being attached to the courts to give their opinion on the Hindu, Muhammedan law points which may arise in any case

20. Q. What is your opinion of the general character and conduct of the judges in their official capacity as such ?

A. I am happy to state that in my humble opinion the judicial branch of the service is at present almost pure; and there are among the judicial servants of the Company, gentlemen of such distinguished talents, that from their natural abilities, even without the regular study of the law, they commit very few, if any, errors in the administration of justice.

27, 28. Q. Have the respectable and intelligent native inhabitants generally confidence in the purity of the Company's courts ?

A. Whilst such evils exist as I have above noticed, in my reply to queries 5, 6 and 7, as well as to queries 20 and 24, the respectable and intelligent native inhabitants cannot be expected to have confidence in the general operation of the judicial system.

30. Q. Can you suggest any mode of removing the several defects you have pointed out in the judicial system ?

A. As European judges in India are not generally expected to discharge judicial duties satisfactorily, independent of native assistance, from not possessing a thorough knowledge of the languages, manners, customs, habits, and practices of the people, and as the natives who possess this knowledge have been long accustomed to subordination, the only remedy is to combine the knowledge and experience of the natives with the dignity and firmness of the Europeans.

32. *Q.* What is the difference between the Jury system and the Punchayet ?

A. The Punchayet exists on a very defective plan at present, because the jurors (members of the Punchayet) are not regular in their meetings, have no power to compel the attendance of witnesses, unless by appealing to the court; they have no judge to preside at their meetings and direct their proceedings, and are not guarded in any manner from partiality or private influence. They are in fact at present only arbitrators appointed by the court with consent of the parties in a cause, each party nominating the arbitrator and the judge a third; and sometimes both parties agree to refer the decision of the case to one arbitrator.

34. *Q.* Do you really think the introduction of any system of Jury trial or Punchayet would be beneficial ?

A. Undoubtedly, as shown by my answer to Question 30. Since a Punchayet composed of the intelligent and respectable inhabitants, under the direction of a European judge to preserve order, and a native judge to guard against any private influence, is the only tribunal which can estimate properly the whole bearing of a case, with the validity of the documentary evidence, and the character of the witnesses, who could have little chance of imposing false testimony upon such a tribunal.

36. *Q.* Will you explain, in detail, the modification of the Punchayet—Jury system which you think best suited to the circumstances of the country ?

A. I am of opinion that the Punchayet system should be adopted in conjunction with the plan above stated (Q. 30). It would be easy to adapt it to the object in view, without imposing any heavy duty on the respectable portion of the native community. Three jurymen, or about five, would, I conceive, answer the purpose as well as a greater number, and any *zillah* (district) could easily supply a list from which these might be taken without inconvenience. Three times the number required for sitting on a trial should be summoned, and the persons

actually to serve should be taken by lot, so that neither the judges nor the parties may be able to know beforehand what persons will sit on the trial of a cause.

37. *Q.* Do you think the natives of the country are qualified to discharge judicial functions of this nature, and from what class would you select the jurors ?

A. They are assuredly qualified, as I observed before, in answer to Query 19, and the jurors at present may be judiciously selected from retired pleaders (*wakils*) and retired judicial officers, from agents employed by private individuals to attend the court (*mukhtars*) who are generally well qualified, and from the other intelligent and respectable inhabitants.

39. *Q.* What advantage do you conceive this Panchayet-Jury system would possess over the judicial system now established ?

A. First, from the thorough knowledge of the native character possessed by such a tribunal, and of the language of the parties and witnesses, it would not be so liable to error in its decision. Second, the jury would be guarded from undue influence by the judge and his assessors. Third, it would guard the assessor from the use of undue influence. Fourth, it would secure the dispatch of business, and the prevention of delay, and of the need of appeals. The checking of perjury and forgery may also reasonably be hoped from it, besides many other advantages already pointed out.

42. *Q.* Can you point out any defects in the *Sudder Dewany Adawlut* and their remedies ?

A. Government has always been very careful in its election of judges for the *Sudder Dewany Adawlut*, both as regards their ability and integrity; and they are fully competent to remove any defects which may exist in the court over which they preside. It is, however, highly desirable that judges of the *Sudder Dewany Adawlut* should have the power of issuing the writ of habeas corpus, on seeing sufficient grounds for the exercise of this peculiar power.....

46. *Q.* Does any inconvenience arise from making the revenue commissioners also judges of circuit ?

A. Such an union of office is quite incompatible and injurious. The judge of circuit discharges duties of the highest importance, being invested with the power of life and death, and imprisonment during life in chains, the infliction of corporal punishment, and the confiscation of property. He is, besides, charged with the preservation of peace and good order in several extensive districts; and it is morally impossible.....

51. *Q.* Has the right of appeal to the King-in-Council proved beneficial or otherwise ?

A. Owing to the vast distance, the heavy expense, and the very great delay which an appeal to England necessarily involves, owing also to the inaccuracies in the transactions of the papers prepared after decision and sent to this country, and to other causes, I think the right of appeal to the King-in-Council is a great source of evil and must continue to be so, unless a specific court of appeal be created here expressly for Indian appeal causes above Rs. 10,000.....

52. *Q.* What is the nature of the duties assigned to the Revenue commissioners ?

A. They exercise a general superintendence and control over the revenue collectors, with powers similar to those vested in the board at Calcutta, formerly called the Board of Revenue, and in the Board of Commissioners for the upper provinces. That board at Calcutta is now the superior authority to which an appeal may be made from the decisions of the present commissioners, (it is in consequence now generally termed the *Sudder* or Supreme Board), and thence to the Government itself.

60. *Q.* What course do the judges of the *Nizamut Addawlut* adopt ?

A. If the judge of the supreme criminal court, before whom the referred case comes, should, after consulting with

the Muftis of that court, concur in the opinion of the circuit judge, his decision is confirmed and carried into execution. But should the *Sudder Nizamut* (supreme criminal) judge differ from the opinion of the circuit judge, the case is then submitted to a second, or if necessary, to a third *Sudder Nizamut* judge, and the opinion given by two *Sudder* judges against one, is final.

64. *Q.* From what class of men would you select the juries in the criminal courts ?

A. The criminal law now established in India has been very judiciously founded on the Mohammedan criminal law. It has however been so greatly modified by the acts of Government from time to time since 1793, that it, in fact, constitutes a new system of law, consisting partly of its original basis, and partly of the Government regulations. But it has been made a regular study only by the respectable Mohammedans.....
(an elaborate reply follows).

66. *Q.* Should not the jury be selected from persons of all religious sects and divisions ?

A. Since the criminal law has hitherto been administered by the Mohammedans, to conciliate this class, the assessors should still be selected from among them, until the other classes may have acquired the same qualifications, and the Mohammedans may become reconciled to co-operate with them.

67. *Q.* Do you think any alteration necessary in the system of criminal law now established ?

A. As the criminal laws now established are already in general very familiar to the natives, I think they may better remain in their present state until the government may be able to introduce a regular code.

68. *Q.* In what manner do you think a code of criminal law could be framed suitable to the wants of the country ?

A. A code of criminal law for India should be founded as

far as possible on those principles which are common to, and acknowledged by all the different sects and tribes inhabiting the country. It ought to be simple in its principles, clear in its arrangement, and precise in its definitions; so that it may be established as a standard of criminal justice in itself.....

71, 72. *Q.* Would not the detention of the young civilians in England to obtain a regular legal education be injurious by delaying their proceeding to India.....?

A. This is a subject which merits the deepest consideration of the legislature. Young men sent out at an early age, before their principles are fixed, or their education fully matured, with the prospect of the highest power, authority, and influence before them, occupying already the first rank in society immediately on their arrival and often without the presence of any parent, or near relative to advise...(here an elaborate reply.

73. *Q.* How are the laws of inheritance required ?

A. The property of Mohammedans descends and is divided according to their own law of inheritance; and the property of Hindus according to theirs; and of other sects also agreeable to their respective laws of inheritance.

74. *Q.* What books do the Hindu lawyers officially attached to the courts follow as law authorities ?

A. There are various books, but in Bengal they chiefly follow the Dayabhaga, with occasional reference to other authorities; and in the western province and a great part of Dakhan they follow the Mitakshara principally.

75. *Q.* What books do the Mohammedan lawyers follow as authorities ?

A. The majority of Mussulmans of Hindustan follow the doctrines of Abu Hanifah and his disciples; consequently the *Hidaya* is their chief law authority; but they also refer to some

other books of decision or cases such as the *Fatawæ Alamgiri* and others.

76. Q. Is there any mode by which the law authorities, now so voluminous and perplexing, might be simplified in such a manner as to prevent the native lawyers from misleading the courts and confounding the rights of property ?

A. To effect this great and pre-eminently important object, a code of civil law should be formed on simpler principles to those already suggested for the criminal code, and this, as well as the former, should be accurately translated, and published under the authority of government. By printing off large impressions and distributing them, at prime cost, in the current languages of the people, they might render the rights of property secure; since these being clear and well-known to the whole community, it would be impossible for any designing man to induce an intelligent person to enter upon litigious suits. The law of inheritance should, of course, remain as at present with modifications peculiar to the different sects, until by the diffusion of intelligence the whole community may come to adopt one uniform system. At present when a new regulation, drawn up by any officer of government and submitted to it, is approved of, it immediately becomes law when promulgated, the same as an act of Parliament in this country, when approved of, discussed, and sanctioned by king, Lords and Commons. From the want of sufficient local knowledge and experience on the part of the framers of such regulations, they are often found not to answer in practice, and the local government is thus frequently obliged to rescind the whole or part of them. I would therefore suggest that if any new regulation be thought necessary before the completion of the civil and criminal codes above proposed, great care and precaution should be observed in its enactment. With this view every such project of law before it is finally adopted by the government, should be printed and a copy sent directly from Government, not only to the judges of the *Sudder Dewany Adawlat* and the members of the Board of Revenue, &c., but also to the Advocate-general on the part of the Honourable Company, to

the principal Zamindars, such as the Rajas of Burdwan, Behar, Benares &c.....(here an elaborate reply.)

77. Q. Should the civil servants, in the Judicial and Revenue departments, be educated expressly for the particular line of the service in which they are engaged, or is it advantageous to transfer them from one branch of it to another ?

A. It is found by experience that persons, by long habit in the performance of any particular duties, become not only more dexterous in, but more reconciled and even attached to them, and find them less irksome than others to which they have not been accustomed. In my humble opinion, the duties of a judge are not inferior in difficulty to those of any other profession whatever, nor is the qualification requisite for them to be acquired with less experience.....

78. Q. Can you offer any other suggestions for the improvement of the Judicial Establishment ?

A. In order to keep the judicial officers above temptation, their salaries should not be reduced. 2nd. With the additional aids and checks of joint native judges, assessors, and juries above proposed (Ans. to Q. 30) all civil courts of appeal may be dispensed with, except the supreme civil (*Sudder Dewany Adawlut*), and thus a very considerable saving may be effected by the Government.....

NOTES

1. In Vol VIII of the Appendix to the report of the Committee, a side note ("Evidence before the Committee") on p. 366 suggests that Rammohun had been examined before a Committee of the House of Commons.
2. At the end of his *Note on Judicial System of India* Rammohun wrote :

"In conclusion, I deem it proper to state, that in preparing my replies to these queries, I have not been biased by the opinions of any individual whatsoever; nor have I consulted with any person or even

referred to any work which treats on the subject of India. I have for the facts consulted only my own recollections; and in regard to the opinions expressed, I have been guided only by my conscience, and by the impressions left on my mind by long experience and reflection. In the improvements which I have ventured to suggest, I have kept in view equally the interests of the governors and the governed; and without losing sight of a just regard to economy, I have been actuated by a desire to see the administration of justice in India placed on a solid and permanent foundation." (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Part III, pp. 38).

3. All the answers were illuminating and instructive, some are applicable even to-day.

Rammohun, Select Committees and The Reform Bill

Committees for Renewal of Character

IN August 1832, the Special Committees of the House of Commons in charge of renewal of the Charter concluded their sittings and presented the Report to Parliament. The Report went to the Court of Directors in April 1833 and, when the Court agreed with the recommendations, in June 1833 the Bill was drafted and placed before the House of Commons. Rammohun gave several suggestions for inclusion in the Charter after careful study and serious thinking. Some of his suggestions were accepted but many were not, yet on the whole the Charter was satisfactory.

Rammohun knew that the renewal of the Charter the East India Company, with the most essential modifications and favourable concessions, would require the unstinted support of the liberal members of the British Parliament and Government. The progressive measures could not be incorporated into the Charter without the strong backing of Parliament which was then preoccupied with its own Reforms Bill. Rammohun felt that the Reform Bill's liberal provisions were essential for India's good and Rammohun used his social popularity in England to win his objective and his attention was, therefore,

naturally directed wholly on the passing of the Reform Bill of England.

Reform Bill and Rammohun

The Reform Bill of England was introduced in the House of Commons by Lord Russell in March 1831 but it was defeated in April. The Second Bill was introduced in the House of Commons and was carried at the end of September. When it was placed before the House of Lords, it was rejected in the beginning of October, 1831. At this time, England was passing through a turmoil, almost a civil war. In 1832, the Reform Bill was introduced for the third time in the House of Commons and was carried in March but it had yet to go to the House of Lords for adoption. The decision of the Upper House was awaited with great agony by many because of this long suspense. In a letter from Bedford Square to Miss Kiddell, Rammohun wrote :

I had lately the pleasure of seeing the Rev. Dr. Carpenter, and hearing from that truly venerable minister that Miss Castle and yourself were perfectly well and deeply interested in the cause of Reform, on the success of which the welfare of England, nay of the world, depends. I should have long before this visited Bristol and done myself the honour of paying you my long promised visit, but I have been impatiently waiting in London to know the result of the Bill. I feel very much obliged by your kind offers of attention to my comforts while I am in that part of the country, of which I hope to be able to avail myself as soon as my mind is relieved on this.

The Upper House was in possession of the Bill and in spite of contrary influences, the second reading of the Bill was carried through by a very small margin by the middle of April 1832. This was a sufficiently exciting event for Rammohun as was reflected in his letter to Mrs. Woodford on 27th April :

.....It must have afforded Mr. Woodford and yourself much gratification to learn by the first conveyance the division

on the second reading of the Reform Bill. The struggles are not merely between the reformers and anti-reformers, but between liberty and oppression throughout the world; between justice and injustice, and between right and wrong, but from a reflection on the past events of history, we clearly perceive that liberal principles in politics and religion have been gradually but steadily gaining ground notwithstanding the opposition and obstinacy of despots and bigots. I am still unable to determine the period of my departure from London and my visit to you in the country, I may perhaps do myself that pleasure.....

The reactionary attitude of the peers was persisting even in the third reading of the Bill, yet it was finally passed in June 1832. It may be noted that subsequently the same House of Lords passed similar measures for Ireland and Scotland too. It was at this time, on July 31, 1832, that Rammohun wrote the following to his first host in Liverpool, William Rathbone :

I am now happy to find myself fully justified in congratulating you and my other friends at Liverpool in the complete success of the Reform Bill, notwithstanding the violent opposition and want of political principles on the part of the aristocrats. The nation can no longer be a prey of the few who used to fill their purses at the expense, nay to the ruin, of the people, for a period of upwards of fifty years. The ministers have honestly and firmly discharged their rights. I hope and pray that the mighty people of England may, now in like manner, do theirs, cherishing public spirit and liberal principles, at the same time banishing bribery, corruption, and selfish interests from public proceedings.

As I publicly avowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated, I would renounce my connection with this country. I refrained from writing to you or any other friend in Liverpool until I knew the result. Thank Heaven, I can now feel proud of being one of your fellow subjects, and heartily rejoice that I have the infinite happiness of witnessing the salvation of the nation, nay, of the whole world.

Pray remember me kindly to Mr. Cropper and Mr. Benson and present my best respects to Mrs. Rathbone and my love to the children..... R.M.

P.S. If the German philosopher is still at Liverpool, be good enough to remember me kindly to him, and inform him that we have succeeded in the Reform question without having recourse to the principles of phrenology. R.M.

Rammohun's Moral Stature

The above is quite interesting because Rammohun, in the midst of a hard struggle against adverse forces of the administration, kept a soft heart for all. At the same time, he made up his mind to give up all connections with England, if reactionary forces prevented the Reform Bill from being passed into law in the House of Commons or in the House of Lords. One may exclaim : how childish it is for an outsider like Rammohun to say that he would have nothing to do with the British connection. Does his connection matter at all ? True it does not, and yet how untrue and short-sighted it would be to belittle the genuine appreciation and ardent co-operation of the most influential and towering personality of India. The fact of the matter is that Rammohun was conscious of the position he came to occupy in the English social and front-rank political circles as were actively engaged in furthering the forward movement of India. In his heart of hearts, Rammohun must have felt that Britain had honoured him in many possible ways and also given him the status of India's ambassador and his denunciation of Britain in such circumstances, however ineffective, still would only elevate his moral stature as the warmest supporter of world-wide liberalism. The fact was that Rammohun made genuine friendship with some important men of position in England, some belonging to the House of Commons and some to the House of Lords from whom his cause got the fullest support. Surely this gain was incalculable.

The Select Committees of the British Parliament, having got all the papers from various experts and evidence from men connected with administration in India and in England, from East

India Company's representatives and from Rammohun, bestowed their serious consideration to many matters some of which were extremely difficult and delicate. Their decisions were far-reaching. Rammohun gave his own views candidly and there is no room to think that at this advanced age of his and with the reputation acquired in England, he would do any injustice to truth and to the well-being of India. Yet his well-known critic the *Samachar Chandrika* observed as follows :

.....For a multitude of reasons of this sort, the Zamindars are too poor to make good the Government revenue and their lands are sold off. The Roy-jee without giving those compassionate gentlemen the slightest information on these subjects, has made this strange reply, that they were reduced to poverty by nuptial entertainments, funeral rites and other religious ceremonies. From this we obtain one conclusion, that it is his wish that Hindu religious ceremonies should come to an end or the Sahebs may be pleased with him for such language.....

This kind of replies and counter-replies covered the pages of the daily papers. The Select Committees transacting their business in London must have got some indications of land-holders' opposition to Rammohun. The Committees were guided by the Memoranda and the Evidences. Letters also appeared in defence of Rammohun as follows :

Respecting the Rajah's assertion that the Zamindars had profited from the cultivation of the waste lands, and the increased rents of their tenants, when the *Chandrika* accuses him of falsehood and speaks of his opinions being despised in England.....Let me now ask the Editor, whether there has been no increase above the revenue from which Maleekana was deducted, according to the accounts of each village at the time of the perpetual settlement ? Would the Zamindars depend upon that Maleekana ?.....

Perhaps these petty bickerings reached England too late or even if they did so in time, the Select Committees did not give much attention, for after all, local differences of opinion

and estimates of situations were bound to occur every now and then.

During Rammohun's stay in London from 1831 to 1833, he wrote several papers, *e.g.*, on Revenue questions, Judicial questions, and various other connected matters, and he also brought out a scheme for European colonisation in the interior of India with elaborate arguments for and against. There is no doubt that the formulation of this scheme made a very large demand on Rammohun's imagination, on his experiences and his knowledge of human character. The Select Committees of Parliament must have been much impressed by the forceful arguments of Rammohun whose zeal for leading India to become a respectable partner of the British Empire within as short a time as can be imagined, was unbounded.

These efforts and representations must have deeply impressed the Select Committees and England and India were agitated by these proposals, in some quarters adversely but among progressive and thoughtful persons quite favourably. There is no denying the fact that the common Britishers did not accept the proposals with any happy feeling due to colour complex etc. and they saw more harm than good for their own race. While heated controversies were going on in both the countries, Rammohun was nearing his end. The Select Committees were finishing their labours as the year 1832 was drawing to a close and in 1833 the renewal of the Charter came with some notable changes¹ and some liberal measures including grant of permission to Europeans to settle in the interior of the country.²

NOTES

1. The East India Company ceased to be a trading body and it became administrative and political in complexion.
2. "The new Charter Act of 1833 made a provision to the effect that Europeans were free to go to, and settle in, any part of the territories

in the possession of the Company before 1800 without licence, but they were excluded from going to, and settling in, the territories obtained by the Company since that period, where they could go and reside only upon licence from the local governments. However, these provisions opened the way and provided the means for the amelioration of the condition of the people through the agricultural, industrial and commercial development of the country, to which the contribution of Rammohun and his liberal followers.....”

Additional Queries Respecting the Condition of India

TO some questions placed before him, Rammohun gave his answer, a summary of which is given here retaining his own words as far as possible. This answer, in some cases, dealt with the socio-economic issues. It discussed the physical condition of the peasantry and the moral condition of the people in general, not only of Bengal but also of the other provinces in the north, west and south-western parts of India. Rammohun discussed therein the rates of wages, kinds of provisions, conditions of living, questions relating to the population, intelligence and stamina of the Hindus and Muslims, their educational acquisitions and other matters.

In *Appendix II* of his answer (See Nag and Burman *op. cit.*, p. 70) Rammohun dwelt on the large benefits accruing to the Government and also to the landlords¹ under the Permanent Settlement but was sorely disappointed that it did not provide adequate protection to the cultivators,² who, as a matter of fact, were the main agents in the creation of this wealth. Rammohun had remarked earlier in the *Revenue System of India* on page 58, as follows :

... ..But I am at a loss to conceive why this indulgence was not extended to their tenants, by requiring proprietors

to follow the example of Government, in fixing a definite rent to be received from each cultivator, according to the average sum actually collected from him during a given term of years; or why the feeling of compassion excited by the miserable condition of the cultivators does not now induce the government to affix a maximum standard, corresponding with the sum of rent now paid by each cultivator in one year, and positively interdict any further increase.

Rammohun touched upon topics incidental to the main subject, for instance, the revenue-fetching potentialities of the Ryotwari System as compared with the Zamindari System. He showed by reference to Government documents and statements and by his own calculations that in the Zamindari System of 35 years between 1793 and 1828, revenue had increased by about 100%, whereas in the Ryotwari System, it had grown by about 40 %. This was the main burden of *Appendix III* of his answer :

Hence we may be justified in inferring that if the benefits of a permanent settlement were also extended to the cultivators, the farmers and labour in every part of the country, both in the upper and lower provinces (who form the largest portion of the population of India), would be equally attached to the government, and ready to rise in defence of it, as a militia or in any other shape that might be required, so as to secure the British rule in a foreign and remote empire, alike from internal intrigue and from external aggression, without the necessity of keeping on foot an immense standing army at an enormous cost. This consideration is of great importance in respect of the natives of the upper and western provinces who are distinguished by their superior bravery, and form the greater part of the British Indian army. If this race of men, who are by no means deficient in feelings of personal honour and regard for family respectability, were assured that their rights in the soil were indefeasible so long as the British power should endure, they would from gratitude and self-interest, at all times, be ready to devote their lives and

property in its defence. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 71).

Rammohun proceeded to elaborate on the gains of the landholders to show how big they were proportionately. He wrote :

Supposing these landholders of Bengal to stand in the place of the farmers in England, who are considered to pay about one-third of the produce of their farms as rent; is there anything so unreasonable, if the Zamindars receive 15 to 20 per cent, a very few 30 per cent of the produce of their estates ? If the persons above alluded to, who suppose the Zamindars too well off, will only wait a little, as the law of primogeniture is not established or observed, the effect of hereditary succession will soon so subdivide the estates, and reduce the incomes of the landholders, that very few, if any, rich Zamindars can be found in the country. (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 72-73.)

Remittances from India to England

Another feature of economy which did not fail to attract Rammohun's attention was the remittances to England. Rammohun felt that if India's money could have been retained in India, a good deal of benefit would have accrued. This money would have been a substantial assistance for India's industrial and agricultural development—not being able to make use of this money meant to him a substantial loss which India could ill afford. As a nationalist, he took up the question drawing attention of the public by calling it an economic drain. This important feature of India's loss (since its use was denied) struck Rammohun very seriously. We find that he pointed it out that the annual remittances were to the tune of two crores of rupees. The details are given below :

1827	Bengal		Madras		Bombay		Total	
Branches	Nos.	Allow- ances Rs.	Nos.	Allow- ances Rs.	Nos.	Allow- ances Rs.	Nos.	Allow- ances Rs.
General	302	42,47,914	124	14,25,735	81	13,24,391	507	70,08,040
Judicial	236	40,48,268	101	16,53,975	66	9,68,733	403	66,70,976
Revenue	177	37,11,206	85	13,95,052	65	7,82,370	327	58,88,631
Marine	16	1,42,740	22	78,078	20	1,60,596	58	3,81,414
Commercial	—	—	6	1,25,978	5	1,04,981	11	2,30,959
Total	731	1,21,50,131	338	46,78,818	237	33,51,071	1306	2,01,80,020

(Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Part III, p. 76).

Hamilton refutes

Montgomery Martin³ remarks about “the immense and absolutely incalculable amounts of specie exported from India between 1757 and 1770”. Such references to “Plassey Plunder” and “flight of specie into England” have been answered by the eminent economist C.J. Hamilton whose observations are quoted below :

Considering Bengal as a unit, payments made to other parts of India for which there was no material return may be regarded as a drain equally with similar payments exported to Europe.....It is thus clear that in estimating the amount of the drain account must not be taken of the whole amount of the private gains amassed by the servants of the Company, but only of such part as were actually embodied in commodities which left the country in one of the three ways, viz., as part of the Company’s investment; as direct export by the Company’s servants; or as indirect

export in the shape of the investments of other European Companies. The mistake is often of supposing that the whole amount of the bills of exchange, by means of which individuals transferred their wealth from England to India, should be regarded as part of the drain, in addition to the commodities shipped by the English and European Companies. This, of course, is not so. The funds received in India in respect of which the bills were given were largely spent in India. In respect of these, no corresponding commodities were exported at all. The bills on presentation in England were paid, not from the proceeds of the sale of commodities, but from the reserve funds of the Company upon which they constituted a heavy drain. It was for this reason that the Company was restrained by the Act of 1773 from accepting such bills to an amount of more than £ 300,000 per annum. As regards such part of the private funds as were borrowed in India for the purchase of the investment the real export consisted of the investment itself. Thus to count the bills as well as the investment would be to count the same item twice. The drain properly consisted only of the commodities exported by the Company from the proceeds of its surplus revenues, or from borrowed money; of the commodities exported by the other European Companies and financed by bills given to the Company's servants..... For some years after the grant of the Diwani constant attention was drawn to the difficulties arising from the shortage of silver in circulation as currency. From this a hasty inference seems to have been made to the conclusion that the large sums received as compensation after Plassey, as well as the profits from private trading and the surplus territorial revenues, were sent to England in the shape of specie. Hence the remarks about the vast transference from Indian hoards to English banks and Martin's statement that an immense amount of specie was exported from India between 1757 and 1770. The idea that any such export occurred is almost entirely a delusion. The proof of this may be drawn from three considerations, *viz.*, the complete silence of the historical records regarding such specie exports to England; the heavy loss which would have

attended such a mode of remittance; the financial circumstances of the Company in England and in India. Further, it can be shown that the assumption of a large specie export is not necessary to account for the shortage of silver in circulation in India. (C.J. Hamilton : *The Trade Relations between England and India 1600-1896*, pp. 135-137).

Dadabhai Naoroji

Long after Rammohun, there appeared in Bombay, Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917) who studied at length the question of the flight of wealth from India to England—what came to be called later on as the “Drain Theory”—in a remarkable tract discussing the export surplus, invisibles and other economic issues over a reasonable span of years. He calculated that altogether the drain aggregated to £ 15 0 millions upto 1865.

Dadabhai Naoroji⁴ must have gone through carefully all that Rammohun had already written about four decades before. As a member of the British Parliament, he was living in England where Rammohun wrote these papers on revenue matters. Rammohun could be taken as the pioneer of the Drain Theory which Dadabhai Naoroji enriched by an intensive study.

In this and other ways Rammohun threw much light on the drain of wealth annually out of India (taking 1827 figures as the base). Since these sums of money were not coming to any use for India's economic development, Rammohun called it ‘drain’ of wealth. This, however, should not be confused with the wider problem of economic drain in the technical sense. The question of economic drain in the technical sense may be found in the references made by Montgomery Martin and others. In the ordinary way Rammohun referred to the large sums of foreigners' earnings which were remitted out of India to their Home establishments in England. Strictly speaking, economic drain would be computed by various other considerations among which the most important would be the outflow of wealth for which there would be no inflow in exchange. Rammohun left aside the complications to a future time and showed by the above “Table of Remittances” how substantially

India was losing and this, if continued for a considerable period, would be seriously detrimental to India's interest. In other words, England, being the ruler, benefactor, and well-wisher of India, should have made adequate safe-guards to prevent impoverishment and to supplement its economic prosperity. Taking all these considerations into account Rammohun submitted a note to the Committee of the House of Commons and mentioned therein :

By the evidence of Messrs. Lloyd and Melville (the former the Accountant-General, and the latter the Auditor-General of the East India Company), recorded in the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, 23rd February 1830, it appears that the proportion of the Indian revenues expended in England on the territorial account amounts, on an average, to 3000,000L sterling annually. It includes the expenses of the Board of Control and India House, pay, absentee allowances, and pensions of Civil and Military Officers in Europe for services in India, with interest of money realised there, &c., &c., besides 453,588l, for territorial stores consigned to India.

In a letter of the Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal, dated 20th June, 1810, and quoted in the work "On Colonial policy as applicable to the Government of India", by a very able servant of the Company, holding a responsible situation in Bengal, the Directors state that "It is no extravagant assertion to advance, that the annual remittances to London on account of individuals, have been at the rate of nearly 2,000,000L, per annum for a series of years past." (p. 70). From these and other authentic documents, the author calculates the amount of capital, or the aggregate of tribute, public and private, so withdrawn from India from 1765 to 1820, at 110,000,000L. (p. 65)

To the above may be added the remittances in respect of the savings of Europeans as Barristers, Solicitors, Law Officers, Merchants, Agents and Planters, who retired and left this country with their accumulated earnings.

Economic Drain in Shore's, Cornwallis' and Marriot's Notes

In fact, long before Rammohun, the concept of "economic drain" had been mentioned in the Minutes of Sir John Shore, Governor-General, in his fifth Report of 1787; in 1790 Lord Cornwallis also mentioned the heavy "drain of wealth". Of this matter sufficient notice was not taken for a considerable time. Between the time of Rammohun and Dadabhai Naoroji appeared one Saville Marriot, Commissioner of Revenue, Deccan, who in 1857 underlined : "Most of the evils of our rule in India arose directly from or may be traced to, the heavy tribute which the country pays to England." Marriot also quoted a Chairman of the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company that "India paid to the mother country in the shape of home charges what must be considered the annual tribute of £3 million and daily poured into the lap of the mother country a continued stream of wealth in the shape of private fortunes."

In this retrospect, let it not be forgotten that in exchange of the large monetary gains and other advantages which the Britishers got for long number of years, India also obtained substantial advantages through association with the British merchants. India acquired the techniques and intricacies of foreign trade as well as details of world markets. They also came to use the methods of enforcing sounder administrative principles on which depended trade and commerce with other nations of the world; also India acquired the experiences of intimate association with new industries in other lands many of which had the advantages and potentialities of making competitive products. She also acquired the lines of toning up internal administration of the various departments of revenue, law, police, health, industries and agriculture etc. From this wide association, India came to realise the role and dignity of labour, obligations to the state and also the skills in the different spheres of productive activities. India learnt the value of discipline and thoroughness in affairs of civil and military administration. In the course of innumerable dealings, the Indian associates came to grasp the techniques of deriving advantage from foreign capital and technology.

To a very large extent bold and powerful initiative came to them as exhibited in the plantations far into the fearful forests, marshy and mountainous regions which were so long a terror to indigenous people, but once turned into regular plantations, these yielded such vast wealth that India occupies to-day an enviable position as producer and exporter. Further, various technological skills were developed in European countries and India made the earliest attempts to take advantage of them and it is no wonder that India's role in the partnership with the British was one which made India's position foremost in the export trade of some fibre goods. It may be justly remarked that by the Indo-British association, India stepped into modernity from medievalism.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

Rammohun on Additional Queries respecting the Condition of India

1. *Q.* What is your opinion on the physical condition of the Indian peasantry ?

A. India is so extensive a country that no general statement will apply.....The natives of Southern and Eastern Provinces are by no means equal in physical qualities of those of the Northern and Western Provinces.....They are upon the whole inferior to the Northern and Western nations, due to three principal causes : 1st, the heat of the climate of India, which relaxes and debilitates the constitution, 2nd, the simplicity of the food which they use chiefly from religious prejudices, 3rd, the want of bodily exertion and industry.....owing principally to the fertility of the soil, which does not render much exertion necessary for gaining a livelihood. Hence natives of Africa and some parts of Arabia, though subject to the influence of the same or perhaps a greater intensity of heat yet from the necessity imposed upon them of toiling hard for sustenance.....and from using animal food, are able to cope with any Northern race in physical strength.....those converted to Mussulmanism.....were distinguished by greater

bodily activity than those of the other branch which had Hindoo simple mode of life.

2. Q. What is the moral condition of the people ?

A. Fundamentally opposed expressions of opinions have been expressed by Foreigners according to their experiences and according to the treatment given to the natives of India. This was Rammohun's reactions which he put in his own language elaborately. Then he proceeds : I am of the opinion that peasants or villagers who reside at a distance from large towns and head stations and courts of law, are as innocent, temperate and moral in their [conduct as the people of any country whatsoever; and the further I proceed towards the North and West, the greater the honesty, simplicity and independence of character I meet with. The virtues of this class, however, rest at present chiefly on their primitive simplicity, and a strong religious feeling which leads them to expect reward or punishment for their good or bad conduct, not only in the next world, but like the ancient Jews, also in this; 2nd, the inhabitants of the cities, towns or stations who have much intercourse with persons employed about the courts of law, by Zamindars, etc., and with foreigners and others in a different state of civilization, generally imbibe their habits and opinions; 3rd, a third class consists of persons who are in the employ of landholders or dependents for subsistence on the courts of law, as attorneys' clerks, and who must rely for a livelihood on their shrewdness. But I must confess that I have met a great number of the [second class engaged in a respectable line of trade, who were men of real merit, worth and character. Even among the third class I have known many who had every disposition to act uprightly.

3. Q. What rates of wages generally are allowed to the peasantry and labourers ?

A. In Calcutta, artisans such as blacksmiths and carpenters get ten to twelve rupees per month (*i.e.*, twenty to twentyfour shillings) common workmen who do inferior work 5 to 6 rupees (10 to 12 shillings); masons from 5 to 7 rupees per

month common labourers about $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 rupees; cultivators 4 rupees a month etc.

4. Q. On what kind of provision do they subsist ?

A. In Bengal they live most commonly on rice with a few vegetables, salt, hot spices and fish. I have often observed the poorer class living on rice and salt. Only in the upper provinces they use wheaten flour instead of rice and poorer class use bajra (millet); the Mohammedans in all parts who can afford it add fowl and other animal food. A full grown person in Bengal consumes about 1 lb. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb of rice a day; in the upper provinces larger quantity of flour. The vaishyas (third class) and the Brahmins of Deccan never eat flesh.

5. Q. What sort of houses do they inhabit ?

A. In higher Bengal and the upper and Western provinces they occupy mud huts; in the lower and Eastern parts of Bengal generally hovels composed of straw, mats and sticks; the higher classes having houses of brick and lime.

6. Q. How are they clothed ?

A. The Hindus of the upper provinces wear a turban on the head and a piece of cotton cloth (called *chadar*) wrapped round the chest, and another piece girt closely about the loins and falling down towards the knee;.....In the lower provinces they generally go bearheaded..... The Mohammedans everywhere use turban and are better clad. The respectable classes are of course dressed in a more respectable manner.

7. Q. Does the population increase rapidly ?

A. It does increase considerably from the early marriages and the males so seldom leave their families. The vast number of the newly-born is carried off by cholera morbus etc. The condition of labourers has since much improved.

8. Q. What is the state of industry among them ?

A. Mohammedans are more active and capable of exertion than the Hindus, but the latter are also generally patient of labour and diligent in their employments, and those of the upper provinces not inferior to the Mohammedans themselves in industry.

9. Q. What capability of improvement do they possess ?

A. They have the same capability of improvement as any other civilised people.

10. Q. What degree of intelligence exists among the native inhabitants ?

A. The country having been so long under subjection to arbitrary military Government of the Mohammedan rulers, which showed little respect for Hindu learning, it has very much decayed and indeed almost disappeared, except among the Brahmins in some parts of *Dakhan* (Deccan) and of the Eastern side of the India, more distant from the chief seat of Mohammedan Government. The Mussulmans as well as the more respectable classes of Hindus cultivate Persian literature and a great number of the former and a few of the latter extend their studies to Arabic. Among those who cultivate Persian and Arabic and those who cultivate Sanskrit, very few of them know European literature and are therefore not much esteemed by Europeans.

11. Q. How are the people in regard to education ?

A. Those about the courts of native princes are not inferior in education. Indeed they rather carry their education and politeness to courtesy, to an inconvenient extent. With respect of Hindu college boys many learned Christians object to the absence of religious teaching which they considered to be bad.

12. Q. What influence has superstition over the conduct of the people ?

A. See reply to Q. 2.

13. *Q.* What is the prevailing opinion of Native inhabitants regarding the existing form of government and its administrators, Native and European ?

A. The peasantry and villagers in the interior are quite ignorant or indifferent about either the former or present Government and attribute, the protection they may enjoy or oppression they may suffer, to the conduct of the public officers. But men of aspiring character and members of ancient families consider it derogatory to accept the trifling public situation which the natives are allowed to hold under British Government. Many of those who are engaged prosperously in commerce and those who are secured in the peaceful possession of their Estate by Permanent Settlement and such as have sufficient intelligence to foresee the probability of future improvement which represent itself under the British rulers, are not only reconciled to it but really view it as a blessing to the country.

NOTES

1. It is worth noticing how the gains of the landholders have been emphasised.
2. Yet some eminent researchers have made an unjustifiable fling against Rammohun (see *Perspective in Social Sciences*, p. 194) in the following words ".....On the secular plane, he wished to conserve the system which had been created by the British land settlements in Eighteenth Century Bengal of which he and his family had been beneficiaries".
3. R. Montgomery Martin wrote *History of the British Colonies* in five volumes.
4. Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Elphinstone College, Bombay, at the age of 33, sat in the British Parliament.

Rammohun and His Last Three Months

RAMMOHUN's role was not only important but vital in certain issues that appeared before the Court of Directors of the East India Company, the Board of Control and the Select Committees of Parliament. Within a short time, he had attained high status due to public recognition and private discussions and finally because of his audience with the King of England and the King of France both of which contributed to his social and political standing. By now he had come to occupy the position of a high dignitary so that it was almost imperative, according to some of his advisers, to live in the appropriate style of the ambassadorial aristocracy in London. He took up residence in Cumberland Terrace, a well-known place in London. Little did anyone suspect that dark clouds were gathering in the remote corners of his bright life. Within a short time the high standard of life proved ruinous and in that situation, Sandford Arnot's pressure to obtain his dues hastened the crisis to a breaking point. As days passed, he found to his dismay that his Calcutta agents were not responding to his requirements. Remittances from home stopped suddenly without any warning. To add to his misfortune, the Emperor of Delhi also slumped into a silence, perhaps due to his own domestic worries and problems. The financial support from Calcutta and Delhi having become inadequate, the reasons

for which were still unknown to Rammohun, he decided to give up the house at Cumberland Terrace. His physical condition was already low and his mental state also far from normal, worsened by over-exhaustion and mental fatigue. He now needed personal care and prolonged rest. From his establishment in London he decided to move to live with the Hare family (two brothers and one sister). Here at Bedford Square, Rammohun began to get unstinted personal attention from affectionate friends under the constant vigilance of the Hares and the Castles.

It was at this time, July 11, 1833, that the final decision of the Privy Council, rejecting the appeal of the orthodox Hindus against Bentinck's *Suttee* ordinance, was taken. Rammohun was present in London when the announcement was made. In a letter he wrote from Bedford Square to Miss Kiddell on July 24, 1833, saying that he needed quiet rest and was going to Bristol shortly, he explained :

Dear Madam, from my anxiety to proceed to Bristol, heavy duty appeared to me light, and difficult tasks had seemed easily manageable. The consequence was that I met with disappointments from time to time, which I felt severely. Today is the third reading of the India Bill in the House of Commons, after long vexatious debates in the Committee, impeding its progress under different pretensions. After the Bill has passed the Lower House, I will lose no time in ascertaining how it will stand in the Upper Branch, and will immediately leave London without waiting for the final result. I will proceed direct to Bristol next week, and on my way..... I will endeavour to visit my acquaintances at Bath and its vicinity. I deeply regret that I should have been prevented from fulfilling my intention this week, by circumstances over which I had no control. I feel very much obliged by your kind suggestions contained in my son's letter. You may depend on my adhering to them. I intend to leave this place a little before ten a.m. that I may arrive there on the morning of the following day. Before I leave London I hope to be able to procure the situation for your young relative.

The East India Bill received Royal assent on August 20, 1833. By this Charter the East India Company, which was so long a trading Company, became solely a political and administrative body.

On August 22, Rammohun wrote to Woodford :

My dear Sir, I was glad to hear from Mr. Carey some time ago that you and Mrs. W. were in good health when he saw you last; and Sir Henry Strachey whom I had the pleasure of seeing about three weeks ago, has confirmed the same information. He is indeed an extraordinary man; and I feel delighted whenever I have an opportunity of conversing with that Philosopher. I have been rather poorly for some days past.....

This was to be Rammohun's last letter. Though there is a later letter dated August 25, 1833 (about a month before his death) in the possession of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, its contents suggest that it might have been just a copy of an earlier letter to Woodford himself. The letter preserved in the school runs as follows :

As every person of a reflecting turn of mind feels interested about antiquities, I have the pleasure of sending the accompanying translation which gave an account of the system of religion prevailing in Central India at the time of Alexander the Great and beg your acceptance of it. My health has been rather indifferent, I therefore intend to proceed to Wales through Bristol by Thursday next. I hope you will present my best regards to your worthy parents. I have the honor to be etc.

This tallies with the reference in the concluding part of the previous letter :

.....I am now getting better, and entertain a hope of proceeding to the country in a few days when I will endeavour to pay you a visit in Taunton. The reformed Parliament has disappointed the people of England; the ministers may perhaps redeem their pledge during next session. The failure of several mercantile houses in Calcutta has produced much

distrust both in India and England. The news from Portugal is highly gratifying, though another struggle is expected. I hope you will oblige me by presenting to Mr. W., with my best respects, the accompanying copy of a translation, giving an account of the system of religion which prevailed in Central India at the time of the invasion of that country by Alexander the Great.

Already for some time, Rammohun's health had been showing visible signs of deterioration as indicated by Dr. Wilson's letter to Ramkamal Sen on August 21, 1833

Rammohun had grown very stout, and looked full and flushed when I saw him. It appears also that mental anxiety contributed to aggravate his complaint. He had been embarrassed for money, and was obliged to borrow of his friends here, in doing which he must have been exposed to much annoyance, as people in England would as soon part with their lives as their money. Then Mr. Sandford Arnet whom he had employed as his Secretary, importuned him for the payment of large sums which he called arrears of salary, and threatened Rammohun, that if not paid, he would claim as his own writing all that Rammohun published in England. In short, Rammohun had got amongst a low, needy, unprincipled set of people, and found out his mistake. I suspect when too late, which preyed upon his spirits and injured his health.

In the beginning of September 1833 Rammohun reached Bristol from London, accompanied by Miss Hare. As his financial condition grew worse he turned to the East India Company in London for a loan but his request was not granted. Rammohun, however, continued to get all help and sympathy from his Unitarian friends at Bristol. The Rev. Dr. Lant Carpenter (Pastor of Lewin's Mead Chapel) invited him over to his place so that he could have sufficient rest with peace of mind. Lant Carpenter arranged with his ward Miss Castle to offer Rammohun her big house at Langston Grove. Carpenter used to visit him very often and so did Miss Kiddle and Miss Castle were his old friends. Dr. J.B. Hall looked

after his medical needs. Rammohun was present at the two weekly services in Dr. Carpenter's Church on the 11th and the 15th. Five or six days before that, he had been entertained at Stapleton Grove at a large party where controversial issues on theology had come up during conversation. He had impressed all, even an opponent like the Rev. John Foster whom he had won over to his friendship. Rev. Foster elsewhere remarked :

My prejudice could not hold out half an hour after being in his company. He was a very pleasing and interesting man, intelligent and largely informed I need not say.. .. but unaffected, friendly, and in the best sense of the word, polite. I passed two evenings in his company, only however as a unit in large parties; the latter time, however, in particular and direct conversation with him, concerning some of the doctrines of the Indian philosophers, the political, civil and moral state of the Hindus.

Dr. Lant Carpenter continued to be a frequent visitor. From the beginning of third week of September, Rammohun began to feel distinctly ill and particularly after the 19th when his condition became bad, not only Lant and Mary Carpenter and J.B. Estlin but also others like Miss Castle (Lant Carpenter's ward) and Miss Kiddell remained by his side. But his illness grew more and more severe.

On the 19th, he developed temperature; on the 25th his head was found seriously affected; on the 26th his condition further deteriorated and on the following day, in the presence of Miss Hare, Miss Kiddell, Miss Castle, his son Rajaram and attendants Ramrottun and Ramharry, he breathed his last. His last word was "Aum". It has been authoritatively recorded that in his last days :

The Rajah seemed to pass much of his waking time in prayer. What special burdens weighed on his mind and pressed out his entreaties, we have no means of knowing. His utterance of the sacred 'Aum'—one of the last words heard to utter—suggested that at the solitary gate of death as well as in the crowded thoroughfare of life, the

contemplation of Deity was the chief preoccupation of his soul.

The details are chronicled in the entries by Mary Carpenter in her Diary, later published as *Last Days in England of Raja Rammohun Roy* :

Thursday, 19th—I rode over to Stapleton to see my mother, &c. Found the Rajah ill in fever; he saw me very willingly, and I prescribed for him. Called at Mr. Bright's counting house to put off going to Ham Green; and at eight the Rajah's carriage came for me. I found him a little better, but still feverish. Mr. John Hare and Miss Hare, with whom Rammohun Roy lived were there. I slept there.

Friday, 20th—The Rajah no better. I came home by two in the Rajah's carriage; went out again to dinner. The Rajah had headache coming on, but it subsided on the effect of medicine. He slept in the evening, but with his eyes much open. On awaking about eleven, I found his extremities very cold and his pulse 130 and weak, with the appearance of collapse. Warm liquids and a little wine, and external warmth, relieved him, but his restlessness, changing from the bed to the sofa on the ground, was very great. I begged to-day he would allow Miss Hare to attend him constantly. He said it would be very improper. I assured him the customs of this country rendered it quite proper, and she was admitted. I had her called up after she had gone to bed, to stay up with the Rajah. He seemed much gratified with my services, and glad for me to sleep here. I felt very anxious about him to-night, and told my mother I should propose Prichard's seeing him tomorrow, if he were not better.

Saturday, 21st—Miss Hare sat up with the Rajah, and informed in the night how he went on. I saw him early; his pulse was better, and himself altogether improved; tongue no better. Miss Kiddell proposed Dr. Prichard should see him, to which I cheerfully assented. Went into Bristol; saw some patients at two, and went out to Stapleton with Prichard to dine at five. I did not tell the Rajah of

Prichard's visit until he was in the house. The Rajah expressed his satisfaction, and told me afterwards how much Prichard's countenance indicated his talent. Mr. Hare met us here, and highly approved of Prichard's coming. I went to bed at eleven. Miss Hare sat up again.

Sunday, 22nd—The Rajah was very restless till towards morning when he slept with his eyes much open. Prichard came at half-past eleven; I went in with him, but returned at three. Mr. Hare came out also. In the evening the Rajah was better, and I was in more spirits about him. He said while Prichard, Mr. Hare and I were with him, that if he were to die, he had the satisfaction of knowing he had the best advice in Bristol. Mary and my mother went into meeting in Miss Castle's carriage and returned. Miss Hare's attention to the Rajah is most watchful and unwearied: she has great influence with him, making him take his medicine much better than I could. He is evidently much attached to her, and her regard for him seems quite filial.

Monday, 23rd—I rose a little before five. The Rajah had passed a restless night, having only interrupted sleep with his eyes open. He was much oppressed all day, taking but little notice as usually, and yet perfectly collected when roused. I became more apprehensive of the event, but still am inclined to regard his recovery as probable as his death. Miss Hare spoke in the morning of more advice. I urged it also; Mr. Hare though on his own account did not wish it, considered it proper in the case of so well known and distinguished an individual; and principally on his suggestion Dr. Garrick was called in. He came with Prichard in the evening. The head appearing the organ most affected, leeches were applied. The Rajah was rather better at night. He has expressed to me his gratitude for my attentions, looks at me with great kindness, and constantly presses my hand. I assisted him into a warm bath in the earlier part of the day; he seemed somewhat relieved at night.

Tuesday, 24th—Mr. and Miss Hare and young Rajah have sat up last night. I left them at eleven, returned to

the sick chamber at five a.m. The Rajah's pulse was a little better than it was last night, and altogether he was not worse. Garrick and Prichard came at twelve. During the day more composed and more quiet sleep, but with his eyes open. Towards evening and the night he is always worse.

Wednesday, 25th—The Rajah slept a good deal, and was quieter than during my preceding night; pulse 102 and weak; Mr. Hare stayed up. When he reported to me, between three and four a.m. the patient's state he expressed alarm at the frequent weakness of the pulse; extremities disposed to be very cold, but easily becoming warm when covered; he spoke very little, but is sensible when roused. I came into Bristol about twelve; went to Stapleton to dinner. The Rajah is still very poorly and weak. A mattress has been placed on the ground for him, where he now lies without changing his situation. He seldom speaks.

Thursday, 26th—Mr. Hare sat up during most of last night; he reported to me between three and four a.m. that the Rajah's pulse had sometimes been very weak and rapid, so as to make him feel very solicitous. He was in an imperfect sleep, with eyes open most of the night. Dr. Garrick came at eleven, before Prichard arrived we were summoned to the room by Miss Hare, and found him with an attack of spasm, with convulsive twitchings of the mouth. These went on more or less for an hour or two, and he seemed not sensible of our visit, though in the morning when I went to him, he smiled at me and squeezed my hand in an affectionate manner. We had his hair cut off, and cold water applied to his head. After the spasms subsided, he appeared to sleep, the eyes still open, pupils small; the left arm and leg paralysed. We settled to have Dr. Bernard in the evening. I stayed here all day, and am getting apprehensive about the event. In the afternoon he became much warmer, and the pulse a little stronger, but spasm came on again about halfpast six. He has swallowed with too great difficulty for many hours to allow of any quantity of nourishment, and he was but little sensible from the morning, when he gave up his last look of consciousness.

and thankfulness. Dr. Bernard could not come—it was useless. Prichard and Garrick left the Rajah in a dying state. Nobody went to bed before twelve. Miss Kiddell was much with the Rajah; Miss Castle occasionally; Miss Hare, Miss John Hare and Rajaram seldom out of the room; my mother looked in now and then.

Friday, 27th—The Rajah became worse every few minutes, his breathing more rattling and impeded, his pulse imperceptible. He moved about his right arm constantly, and his left a little a few hours before his death. It was a beautiful moonlight night; on one side of the window, as Mr. Hare, Miss Kiddell and I looked out of it, was the rural midnight scene; on the other this extraordinary man dying; I shall never forget the moment. Miss Hare, now hopeless and overcome, could not summon courage to hang over the dying Rajah, as she did while soothing or feeding him ere hope had left her, and remained sobbing in a chair near; young Rajah was generally holding his hand. I doubt if he knew any since morn yesterday. About half-past one, to please Miss Kiddell, as life was fast fading from our admired friend, and nothing but watching the last breath remained for those around, I lay down on my bed with my clothes on. At half past two Mr. Hare came into my room and told me it was all over; Ram Rottun was holding the Rajah's chin, kneeling by him Miss Hare, young Rajah, Miss Kiddell, Miss Castle, Ram Harry and one or two servants were there also; his last breath had been drawn at twentyfive minutes past two a.m. During his last few moments Ram Rottun, who is a Brahmin, on Mr. Hare desiring to observe any custom usual among the Brahmins, said some prayer in Hindostanee (Sanskrit ?) When the ladies had retired, we laid the body straight on the mattress, and conversed with the Hindoo servants. About half-past three or four we all left the room, some of the servants sitting up in the adjoining room. I went to bed but not to much sleep, the event of the night being too distressing. Our break-fast party was a melancholy one. Miss Hare remained in bed, Pugh, marble mason came out with an Italian and took a cast of the Rajah's head and face. Mr.

Hare and I went into Bristol, and made arrangements about the examination tomorrow. Dr. Carpenter came out to us in the morning. We were all of us much in the room to-day with body, which had a beautiful majestic look. The event is a stunning one to us.

The body was placed in the coffin and the 18th October was fixed for the funeral. In the mean time, a special service was fixed for the 6th October in Lewin Mead's Chapel. On that day in the evening, the Chapel-yard was thronged from sometime before the service commenced; not only was every pew in the edifice densely crowded but also the seats in the aisles speedily filled. The open space was closely occupied by people standing. The service was conducted by Dr. Lant Carpenter. "Never, before nor since, have I beheld such a crowd in that or in any other place of worship" wrote his daughter, Mary. "All who knew my father, or who had heard him preach, will imagine what feeling, what depth of spirituality, was infused into every part of the service. The grand fortieth chapter in Isaiah which he read, had to me a high significance, which it had never had before, and to this day I seldom hear it or read it without thinking of Rajah. The sermon need not be described, as it was printed. The conclusion of it was deeply impressive ... "

This unexpected death created a problem for Rammohun's English friends as to how the body should be disposed of. Miss Hare disclosed that it was the wish of the Rajah that his body should not be buried at a place where the other dead lay, but in a secluded place. A helpful clarification came from Dr. Lant Carpenter, that the Rajah had confided in him that in case of his dying in England, a small piece of freehold ground might be purchased for his burying place, and a cottage be built upon it for the gratuitous residence of some respectable poor person to take charge of it. This requirement was met very fortunately by Miss Castle who offered, in her generosity, a small piece of land adjacent to her Stapleton Grove lawns under the fine elm shade. The kind and timely offer¹ was accepted most gratefully.

It was in the room on one extreme side of the first floor of the Beech House that Rammohun died. The coffin was laid to rest in an enclosure in Stapleton Grove (from where the Beech House could be seen) in a quiet spot under the shade of the elms. The funeral took place on the 18th at 2 p.m. In Mary Carpenter's beautiful and touching lines :

We mournfully and in solemn silence laid the sacred remains of the revered Rajah in the peaceful, beautiful, spot we had chosen, on the 18th October, 1833. How, but a few weeks before, we had rejoiced at his long-expected visit to us we had for many years watched this Star in the East, rising in calm solitary grandeur, the herald, we hoped, of a glorious morn to benighted India. We had seen it pass steadfastly on its heavenly way through the midst of dark clouds, and even through fierce storm of persecution, and finally rise above them.

Soon after noon was the shrine containing the mortal remains of that glorious spirit, slowly and solemnly, in the deepest silence, borne down the broad gravelwalk, followed by us his mourning friends, who had but lately known him in earth, but who hoped to meet him in the Father's Mansions above. The bearers walked along a shady walk, which his foot had doubtless often trodden, and there deposited their sacred burden in the appointed resting place. No voice ventured to express the deep thoughts which must have filled every breast. Who would have spoken over such a grave?

References of his death were made from the pulpits of several churches of England and Ireland, of which some are mentioned below :

(a) Dr. Kenny at St. Olav's Southwark;

Dr. L. Carpenter in the New Gravel Pit Meeting;
 Dr. L. Carpenter in the New Gravel Pit Meeting;

- (d) Dr. W.H. Drummond in the Presbyterian Church, Dublin;
- (e) Rev. J. Scott Porter at Presbyterian Congregation, Belfast;
- (f) Rev. W.J. Fox in the Finsbury Chapel, London.

The gloom that overtook many on Rammohun's death comes through the letter which a certain Dr. Boot, an American physician of London, wrote on November 27, 1833 to Estlin :

My dear Sir, Your kind, most kind, letter of yesterday, has this moment reached me, and I have shed tears over it, at the fresh recollection of the sorrow that has thrown a deep shadow over the future hopes and happiness of my life . . . God knows, I have deeply sympathised with you in the painful responsibility of your situation and I can well assure that everything which the soundest medical judgment and the deepest solicitude could suggest was done.....

..... I thank God that you had an opportunity of tearing yourself the veil from your eyes, and that the primitive love and admiration you cherished for him was confirmed to be rendered immutable by the seal of Death;

To me he stood alone in the single majesty of, I had almost said, perfect humanity. No one in past history or in the present time ever come before my judgment clothed in such wisdom, grace and humanity.

I knew of no tendency even to error. To say he was not the disciple of Christ; that he even smiled in approbation of infidelity, and joined those thoughtless and weak and ignorant men who set themselves up against the testimonies of the human heart, which asserts the truth of religion against the wit and follies of the vainest and the cleverest head, is to belie his whole life.

.....I can only say that every visit my admiration of him grew with my intimacy with his mind and actions. He was.

the most liberal, the most touching; politeness was an instinct of his nature; it never left his most familiar associates;

.....When I think that I shall see him no more, that the beauty of his countenance, the picturesqueness of his eastern costume, the kind reception, the noble example of virtues never left,..... I feel sorrow as I never felt before.. ...

Thus passed away the great Rammohun Roy. It is no exaggeration to say that his visit to England and France put India for the first time on the intellectual and cultural map of the world. By his cosmopolitan outlook, large sympathies, wide acquaintance, genial friendship with those who came in contact with him, particularly in England, and above all by his personal magnetism, he achieved consummation of his social and political thoughts. Rammohun Roy was a unique ambassador of the East to the West, the great interpreter of India to England whose visit stirred the ecclesiastical masters of thought and the leaders of Parliament in England. He held aloft the highest concepts of Indian scriptures but taught secularisation. It was perhaps providentially ordained that a colourful career should come to an end in a colourful country where life pulsated with activity in all its bearings and where effusive appreciation was spontaneous. However much it may be painful to think that Rammohun could not return to his Indian home, it may as well be taken as a blessing that he was spared it. A majestic and hearty welcome was very doubtful except from a handful of admiring free-thinkers. What to speak of the thirties of the century, even down to the fifties and sixties, there was none among the top rankers who could realise the immensity of Rammohun's contribution or alternatively who could make an outright rejection of the Brahmo movement with scriptural texts supporting such rejection. Even Vidyasagar's scholarship came nowhere near to make a full assessment. Bankim Chatterji who came later and was a great original thinker, who was scholarly though suffering from extreme conservatism, dared not make a full assessment.

It was left to Rabindranath Tagore and Brojendranath Seal to reveal the greatness of Rammohun Roy, this unique genius

of all time who was the torch-bearer of Universal Religion and Universal Worship.

Rammohun's Grave at Stapleton Grave and later at Arno's Vale

Some years later, in 1843, when it was known that the place chosen could not, under the law, be kept on a permanent basis, the coffin was removed to Arno's Vale in the vicinity of Bristol. But on one side of the lawn of Stapleton Grove, upon which the enclosure still stands, a stone tablet² was left with the following engraved on it :

The body of Raja Rammohun was buried here in 1833 and was removed for internment at Arno's Vale cemetery in 1843.

And on the ground floor of the Beech House, upon the exterior wall lies fixed another tablet³ which reads :

In memory of Raja Rammohun Roy, founder of the Brahmo Samaj and pioneer of many-sided reforms in India, a man of deep religious experience, a friend of all the religions of the spirit, a great linguist who cast a permanent light on the chief religions of the world, born at Radhanagar, Bengal in 1774, visited England in 1831-1833, to advance the social and political interests of his country. He lived in this house in the summer of 1833 and died here on September 27th in the same year. This tablet is erected as token of their deepest reverence by his fellow countrymen on the occasion of the first centenary of the Brahmo Samaj.

In Arno's Vale the tomb bears a tablet with the inscription :

Beneath this stone rest the remains of

RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY BAHADUR

A conscientious and steadfast believer in the
Unity of the Godhead.

He consecrated his life with entire devotion to
the worship of the Divine Spirit alone.

To great natural talents he united a thorough
mastery of many languages,
and early distinguished himself as one of the
greatest scholars of the day.

His unwearied labours to promote the social, moral and physical condition of the people of India, his earnest endeavours to suppress idolatry and the rite of *Suttee*, and his constant zealous advocacy of whatever tended to advance the glory of God and the welfare of man, live in the grateful remembrance of his countrymen.

THE TABLET

RECORDS THE SORROW AND PRIDE WITH WHICH
HIS MEMORY IS CHERISHED BY HIS DESCENDANTS,
HE WAS BORN IN RADHANAGAR, IN BENGAL 1774,
AND DIED AT BRISTOL, SEPTEMBER 27, 1833.

NOTES

1. The *Bengal Spectator* carried the following on 24.8.1845 :

"The remains of Ram'mohun Roy, who died at Stapleton-Grove, Bristol, the residence of M H Castle Esq. several years since and was buried in the ground adjoining the house, have been removed to the cemetery at Arno's Vale, and interred in that portion appropriated to dissenters. A sum has been forwarded from India for the purpose of erecting a stately monument on the spot. It will be in the Hindu style of architecture and upwards of 30 feet in height."

2. The remains of the coffin were shifted to Arno's Vale on May 29, 1843. But there is no record to show that Prince Dwarkanath Tagore who had been living in England since 1842 had anything to do with the shifting or that he visited Bristol. According to the Indian papers Dwarkanath returned home on January 7, 1843.
3. Mary Carpenter's *The Last Days in England of Raja Rammohun Roy* published in 1866 does not mention the inscription on the Beech

ground floor tablet. But Collet's *Life and Letters of Rammohun Roy* published in 1900 has a reference.

Miss Sophia Dobson Collet (1822-1894) was a remarkable lady to whom India is eternally indebted for her biography (she could not complete the last portion of the work undertaken) of Rammohun Roy. The first biographer of Rammohun Roy was Nagendra Nath Chatterjee whose first volume, a small book, was in Bengali. When he wrote for the second time, he had to depend on materials made available to Miss Collet for her English edition. Miss Collet had to make strenuous efforts for more than twelve years to collect these materials on Roy's activities and his family history and tried to trace, as far as possible, his mental changes. In 1882 Miss Collet wrote, for the purpose of collecting detailed information about Rammohun, to one Rakhaldas Haldar (1832-1887) who was in England between 1861-62 and whatever Miss Collet could collect was authoritative information about Rammohun. Rakhaldas was a Brahmin, connected with Jorasanko Tagore family, whose son Sukumar Haldar was the father of the well-known artist Asit Kumar Haldar of Santiniketan, then of Jaipur and lastly of Lucknow, Rakhaldas was noted for his papers to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for his book *Sri Ram Charit, English Diary of an Indian student*. Sukumar Haldar wrote a book, *Mid-Victorian Hindu a sketch of the life and times of Rakhaldas Haldar* (1921).

Miss Collet had almost completed her writing but feeling that she would not be able to come to its end she requested a family friend of hers, Rev. F. Herbert Stead, to complete the work after her death. She made her request in touching words : "I am dying, I cannot finish my *Life of Rammohun Roy*. But when I enter the Unseen I want to be able to tell Rammohun Roy that his *Life* will be finished. Will you finish it for me ?"

Church Dignitaries and Rammohun

EVER since Rammohun came to England, his Unitarian faith became apparent though he continued to attend churches of all denominations. It was abundantly clear that Rammohun was emphatic about his lack of faith in Trinity because in his honest analysis Trinitarianism was untenable. He felt Trinitarianism was unworthy of intellectual acceptance to men of reason and rational thinking. If, however, the belief in Trinity was not a matter of reason and rationality but an article of faith, the matter ended and therefore every man was entitled to his own faith irrespective of its rational or irrational basis. This being his view he emphatically put it in the discussion of his papers on the *Precepts of Jesus*. In course of such discussion, it came out that Rammohun had not given high place to the concepts of Atonement and Resurrection.

Concept of Atonement in Christianity

Atonement is a concept which every Christian has to accept, otherwise he goes out of the pale of Christianity. This concept is not for anybody to interpret in his own way. We have to take it as conceived. It is conceived as an expiation of the sins of men, men born and men yet to be born in all ages in the future. The question now is what sins

does it refer to. According to our common sense, we make a distinction between small lapses in our daily life which do not really affect others and those bigger ones which affect others much, like one's taking to black lies, impersonating, cheating, stealing, murdering, etc. We ordinarily consider the latter category as coming under sin. We should then understand that Christ went to the Cross on our behalf for all sins including also the latter category in which case it becomes all a matter of extreme compassion irrespective of whether or not it amounts to encouraging crimes and sins.

For religious life however we feel Jesus Christ never meant to distinguish serious from non-serious crimes or common lapses from black sins. We conclude that by the word sin Christ meant any deviation from the path of righteousness, love and piety for all creatures, since we believe that he, Christ, came with a divine mission; he insisted on truth, correct conduct and ethical life.

If true Christianity will take no notice of rationality inherent in man and will impose upon him a compulsion to accept the concept of Atonement,¹ then human beings seem to be reduced to dolls and any logical approach to the understanding of the concept becomes meaningless. As Mackintosh observes :

Hence in what follows no attempt is made to reason out atonement before-hand, as though by way of postulate we could determine how God must help us, if help should come. The truth about atonement, like all truths in Christianity, is discoverable and verifiable only through submission to Jesus's power to set us right with God. And in formulating what we call doctrine, we simply interpret what comes home to us as we let the living and dying Redeemer bring us to the Father. (H.R. Mackintosh : *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness*, p. 169)

Regarding Atonement, the following may be noted :

Our thinking about Atonement, to be real, must be our own. God has not dictated to us, even in the New Testa-

ment, any final theory of His reconciling work. We must search it out in the light He gives : Of course in that quest, the Bible is our indispensable inspiration not to collect authoritative passages but to move in the spirit of the Bible. (H.R. Mackintosh : *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness*, 169).

It may be further noted that the concept of Atonement is linked with Incarnation. The following will clarify the point :

The history of theology proves to the hilt that the great ideas of Atonement and Incarnation lose the life-blood of meaning when they drift apart from each other. As Denny has put it : 'It is a common idea that Socinianism (or Unitarianism) is specially connected with the denial of the Incarnation. It began historically with the denial of Atonement. It is with the denial of the Atonement that it always begins anew, and it cannot be too clearly pointed out that to begin here is to end sooner or later, with putting Christ out of the Christian religion altogether.'..... (H.R. Mackintosh : *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness*, p. 181).

A further observation Mackintosh makes :

The Atonement has neither substance nor efficacy apart from the assurance that in Jesus very God is personally present. Writers of an older day inclined to state the connection misleadingly by taking the Divinity of Christ as (so to speak) an infinite factor or co-efficient which multiplied His human sufferings to infinity, thus rendering them an exact equivalent for the infinite guilt of sin. (H.R. Mackintosh : *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness*, p. 181).

Regarding divine nature, pardon and path of righteousness, the following question was put by Rammohun :

As to my third question. 'They say God is one, and yet say that the Father is God, the Son is God and the Holy Ghost is God', the Editor admits the fact, as he says,

that 'the Bible ascribes the same divine nature and perfections to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost', and yet declares that though distinct in person they are one in nature and attributes, that 'it (the Bible) teaches men to worship each of them as God,' and 'the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are described in Scriptures as equally giving grace and peace to men as pardoning sin and leading men into the paths of righteousness'. (*Brahminical Magazine III*, in Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun Roy*, Part II, p. 161).

Concept of Resurrection in Christianity

The concept of Resurrection is the main pillar on which the divinity of Christ has been claimed to rest. Whether the concept can be fully supported by the description of the last hours of Christ's crucifixion is a matter which can be understood by reference to reliable authorities on Christian texts for it has been asserted that after crucifixion Christ lived on earth for the time he needed.

It cannot be conclusively asserted that coming back to life is the surest proof of divinity, for, in many religions, second and subsequent births are believed to happen as a matter of course depending upon the grade of meritorious life lived on the earth. The next difficulty that arises is that once death has occurred² the same body cannot come back to life; if it comes back, there was no death but only a temporary suspension of breath, in other words, crucifixion was incomplete.

Those who have full faith in the Bible and other Christian texts and in the explanations of the highest teachers of Christianity, think that the spirit of Jesus remained on earth even after crucifixion, so long as it did not complete its mission on earth.

It has already been asserted that Atonement and Resurrection³ are essential concepts to all Christians. Whether the ideas contained in them are based on rationality or not, may become the subject-matter of discussion among non-Christians

for their true import or for metaphysical implications but for genuine Christians these concepts are beyond questioning. In every religion there are some such concepts which the adherents believe as final.

Rammohun was one who however would accept as current nothing, even of his own religion, unless it was rational. We saw him opposing idol-worship and meaningless practices and he admired Islam and Christianity to the extent they appeared rational. He, however, adhered to his own religion because leaving some questionable practices, Hinduism contained some supreme truths and lofty ideology, the like of which could be found in no other religion. Against the idea of Atonement, Rammohun would point out that Hinduism held entirely to the other extreme. The Hindu concept stresses that for every act, the performer is wholly responsible and he has himself to bear the full consequence and nobody else, man or deity. The family priest or the Guru (preceptor) of the entire clan may try to efface the consequence but the Hindu conception is that the doer has to bear it, good or bad. Neither Nyaya philosophy nor the Vedanta philosophy will support Atonement or Forgiveness; even if certain sacrificial rites are carried out, they cannot have any expiation effect. The Hindu scriptures maintain that the doer is bound by his doing and hence there is no concept of a redeemer. The Hindu thought goes further to state that an individual's non-meritorious action cannot be set off against his meritorious action for striking a balance at the end. Every action draws its final judgment irrevocably. Rammohun stands on this Hindu concept and that is why he was against the ordinary current faith and belief in man-God or God-man.

Rammohun kept an open mind on the different sectarian beliefs when he was writing the *Precepts of Jesus*. He was much impressed by the ethical teachings of Jesus and by the precepts and the parables. This attitude of Rammohun was greatly appreciated by the churchmen he met. Serious controversy arose, however, when Rammohun rejected the miracles and held the view that though Jesus Christ came with a divine mission he could not be held or called the Divinity.

This raised a heated controversy and many points were clarified by him in a masterly exposition of Christian theology written with the utmost faith and devotion. After a while, when the heat subsided, Rammohun wrote the following :

With regard to the doctrine of the Atonement, we are given to understand by Christians, that God the Father having been offended by the transgressions of the human race, resolved (though against the suggestion of his mercy) that he would not forgive them unless some adequate sacrifices were offered to him, so that his justice should not be disregarded through the influence of his mercy. Upon this resolution on the part of God the Father, God the Son having great compassion towards man guilty of sins unto death, took upon himself the human nature and offered to God the Father his own life as an adequate atonement, and thereby reconciled to the Father Deity as many men as would believe in the offer of his blood for the remission of sin.

The missionary gentlemen hereby maintain, that although God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost were equally merciful and just and equally adverse to sin, yet the Father having a strict regard to the preservation of the balance of power between Mercy and Justice, did not suffer his Mercy to violate Justice, and insisted, that the sins of men should not be forgiven unless a human sacrifice were made to him. But the Son being more under the influence of mercy and totally regardless of justice, condescended to assume the human nature and to bear the punishment of their sin. Thus by offering himself as a sacrifice, he washed away their transgressions with his blood, without expecting any sacrifice to be made to him; for the satisfaction of his Justice; while God the Holy Ghost, again, took no part whatever in the performance of the sacrifice, either as the Satisfier or the Satisfied, and remained quite neutral. Hence, is it not evident, that God the Father is more strict about the observance of Justice than God the Son ? and that God the Father was the less

liable to the influence of mercy than God the Son ? and that God the Holy Ghost manifested neither Mercy nor Justice in the sacrificial atonement ? Do not these circumstances completely overthrow the doctrine which these Gentlemen preach, viz., that God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are equally just and merciful ?..... (*Brahminical Magazine* IV, in Nag and Burman, op. cit., p. 185)

From the time Rammohun set foot on the English soil, from Liverpool to London and then for a very short stay at Bristol, he attended churches of all denominations : Baptists, Quakers, Presbyterians, Anglicans and more of the Unitarians. He was impressed by the religious attachment of the bulk of the people, specially those attached to the churches. Rammohun passed through a quick succession of experiences from the churches he visited, the missionaries he discussed with and the common people he met. They imprinted on his mind impressions, some deep and superficial, some dull and some colourful. A good number of church dignitaries moved him by their deep religious life and attachment to Bible, many were overzealous in describing the efficacy of miracles and some appeared deeply marked by their conviction that only Christianity could redeem mankind and similar dogmatic assertions. From all this, Rammohun had felt that the Christians all around him were religious but mechanical to a great extent. Their faith in the concepts of Atonement and Resurrection was undoubted.

A serious-minded man, Rammohun made a study of the scriptures relating to different religions. He formed his own views specially on Christian theology and discussed them with other serious-minded men. He did not allow a haphazard mixing of theological and philosophical matters and he stated them at appropriate places as clearly as anybody could. In the *Precepts of Jesus*, he cited parallel concepts where necessary. When the controversies were in full fury, he gave replies well supported by scriptures. For the glorification of God and for full support of Christ in his ethical pronouncements, he

depended both on the *Old Testament* and the *New Testament*. He had no hesitation in carrying on long discussions on Christian theology and where necessary by quoting chapter and verse. This amazed not only his ordinary English friends and listeners but also the churchmen who participated in the discussions. From the talks, in the churches and elsewhere, with people dedicated to Christian faith, he found that the churchmen were not liberal enough to appreciate the good things of other religions, which struck them as novel ideas but not as being worthy of any serious notice. They also did not like that Rammohun should belittle the supernatural things and miracles in Bible but felt happy that he highly valued the preachings in parables. What struck Rammohun was that these church dignitaries showed such unusually blind adherence to the words of the Bible without allowing any flexibility.

It depressed Rammohun very much that these churchmen had no high opinion about the scriptures of other religions and peoples of other countries. It seemed to him strange that they knew nothing or had no respect for the views of people of other religions. They would not accept new light or new interpretations; indeed they were not open to new thoughts or interpretations. They would not see that this big world of varieties of concepts and convictions had infinite scope for a new meaning to life. If they knew any scripture other than the Bible, they knew only the Koran about which also their knowledge was very scanty; they had heard only its name.

Hindu thought and Hindu scriptures were unknown to them and they never cared to know that a vast literature of Hindu scriptures had existed from ancient times and that those who took any interest had found them of substantial value as containing the highest thoughts that the ancient man was capable of.

Rammohun found these churchmen invariably simple, courteous and patient. A larger number of them were superficial; some here and there had extremely penetrating vision. In this background, Rammohun was insistent that however

dedicated the church dignitaries were, they needed a deeper philosophy of life (this life and after) over and above Atonement and Resurrection.

NOTES

1. In this connection extracts from a letter from a Christian friend of mine at Vellore are given below :

.....The Jews used to have a festival (annually) when the High Priest offered a sacrifice (of a bull) as an 'atonement' for the sins of the entire Jew people.....

The Christians went a step further and they said that Jesus had (offered himself) died as an 'atonement' of sins of all human beings in place of the bull which the Jews sacrificed only for those who were Jews. Though Jesus is not supposed to have talked of this Sacrifice (offering himself) as an 'atonement' for the sins of the "People" his saying (e.g. Mathew XVII : 9) : "Tell the vision to man, until the Son of man be risen again from the dead," and (John III : 16) : "For God loved the world so much that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life," obliquely point to Jesus giving himself away in 'atonement' for the sins of people (who believed in him). This dogma (i.e. Jesus died to atone the sins of others (Christians) was later made by the Church into an article of faith.

The concept and notion 'atonement' exists in other religions too and Islam is the outstanding example whose followers celebrate an 'atonement' every year on Bakrid day.

2. Refer to the view that death did not occur.

3. Resurrection :

"The Cross was not the end of Jesus but God rescued him from death : such was the universal conviction." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*)

In this connection the letter from the same Christian friend from Vellore is quoted below :

It is so told in the Bible in more than one place that Jesus had foretold that he will rise after his death. That is the basis of Resurrection. And since according to the Christian belief he did rise back to

life after he had actually been dead Resurrection became the cornerstone of Christian belief.

A section of the Church so believe that the credit for the miracle of virgin birth should actually belong to mother of Jesus. For this reason the Roman Catholic Church decreed in the year 533 (second Council of Constantinople) that Mary was 'virgin before birth, during birth and after birth'. Earlier in the year 431 (Council of Ephesus) she had been given the title of 'Mother of God'. The Roman Catholic Church also believe that (Saint Bonaventure actually said this) "Mary so loved the world that she gave her only begotten son." The Roman Catholic Church also believe : 'We often obtain more promptly when we ask by calling on the name of Marx, then by invoking that of Jesus.' All this has taken away from Jesus the right to any divinity *on account of his virgin birth.*

The claim of Jesus to divinity rests now more on his resurrection (coming back to life after he was actually dead) and his subsequent ascension (going *bodily* up into heaven where he now sits on the right hand of God). Anyone who does not believe in this biblical Resurrection and the subsequent Ascension of Jesus *by Jesus* has no claim to be called a Christian. This is the cornerstone of Christian *religion* (not Dharma) and this resurrection alone imparts to Jesus (a personal name which was very common in those days in Palestine) that divinity which transformed him into 'Christ' (Saviour, Messiah—a rank). Shorn of his resurrection and ascension Jesus will no more be Christ.

Now it is absolutely necessary for a Christian (in order to have any claim to be considered a Christian) to believe in the resurrection of Jesus and accept it as a (historical) truth and something which alone made one of the Jesuses in Palestine a Christ. Without this resurrection (Christ would be no Christ he will just be a Jesus.....

Rammohun's Religious Beliefs in His Closing Years

As stated earlier, on September 11, 1833 Rammohun had prolonged discussions with the Rev. John Foster. It is said that on that day:

“The Rajah avowed unequivocally his belief in the resurrection of Christ and in the Christian miracles generally. At the same time, he said that the internal evidence of Christianity had been the most decisive of his conviction”. Mr. Estlin's Diary for the 11th attest that the Rajah gave an account of the process which he went through in arriving at his present religious conclusions : “his belief in the Resurrection of Christ, as the foundation of his faith in the general resurrection, he firmly declared.”

A corroboration came from another eminent man, Rev. William Jay of Bath, whose impression was likewise. More than a year earlier, on June 17, 1832, Jay had delivered a sermon in Rowland Hill's Chapel and among those present had been Rammohun and the Lord Mayor of London. Rammohun had been so impressed by Jay's speech that he wanted to have it circulated at his own expense, as is borne out by the following extract written long after (in 1843) :

When the service was over the Rajah came into the chapel house and pressed for leave, at his own expense, to print the sermon for distribution among his friends .. The author, with regard to this very extraordinary man, cannot help remarking that not only from the circumstances of his exposing this sermon (which, though not highly doctrinal, has allusions and intimations which would not accord with some theology), but from subsequent intercourse, as also, from the testimony of others, he is persuaded that though at his first embracing Christianity he was Unitarian in his views, he was after he came to this country a sincere and earnest enquirer after evangelical truth, and would have professed his adoption of it had he not been prematurely removed by death.

Following this Rowland Hill meeting, Jay and another colleague of his, the Rev. Warner, had long talks with Rammohun. It was claimed by them that they found him a signal convert to Evangelical religion. Foster was even of the view that Rammohun, towards the close of his life, had come to accept the divinity of Jesus, to which of course Estlin joined issue by asserting that what Rammohun meant was that Christ had a divine mission. But Estlin agreed with Foster that so far as Resurrection was concerned, Rammohun had eventually accepted it. Neither the Rev. Sutherland nor Sandford Arnot (who knew him more intimately) could, however, agree with the above conclusion. As Sutherland explained in *India Gazette* of February 1834 :

On questions of religious faith, Rammohun Roy was in general too pliant, perhaps from his excessive fear of giving offence or wounding the feelings of anybody which accounts for the controversy which has arisen about his religious opinions. In fact, no matter what the creed of the parties with whom he conversed on such a subject, he was sure to impress them with an idea, either that he was of their peculiar faith, or that they had converted him to it. A lady once observed to me that she was rejoiced to find that he was a sincere Trinitarian, and that he had merely gone to

Unitarian places of worship from curiosity, as he had attended Quaker's meeting, the Jewish Synagogue, etc.

Despite these conflicting views regarding Ressurrection, Divinity, etc., his passionate attachment¹ to Christianity was clear upto the end of his life. At one time Rammohun had been so moved by its precepts and ethical teachings that he was thought by many to be on the verge of conversion. In the later years in London, his daily life was marked by the same attachment to Christianity. Mrs. Estlin (Estlin's mother) recorded in her diary :

The Raja read the Scriptures daily in Hebrew and Greek—Miss Hare often read them to him also—this was never omitted.

For all this, we have to depend, however, on Sandford Arnot's considered opinion since he was the closest to him in England. Arnot forfeited the general sympathy of people around him by his weakness about money matters, but in respect of other things, particularly Rammohun's views on religious experiences, he continued to be trusted by unbiased persons like Sutherland, Estlin, Carpenter, etc. When therefore Arnot dismissed as wrong the impression that Rammohun was moving more and more towards Christianity or that he believed in the divinity² of Christ, it proved to be the end of the controversy. Rammohun, Arnot explained, was a man of large sympathies and soft nature and that is why his easy nod or courtesy acquiescence in whatever was pressed before him during the time he was lying in a physically low spirit, was often misunderstood. Still, even Arnot thought, he could detect an appreciable mental uneasiness in Rammohun in his attitude towards strictest Unitarianism. The point will be clear from the following :

He evidently now began to suspect that the Unitarian form of Christianity was too much rationalised (or sophisticated, perhaps, I may say) to be suitable to human nature. He remarked in the Unitarians a want of that fervour of zeal and devotion found among other sects, and felt doubts

whether a system appealing to reason only was calculated to produce a permanent influence on mankind.

Unitarianism

It however does not mean that Unitarianism is not the highest concept towards which humanity should be drawn. It only means that this concept has to be fully sought keeping life's lighter side of joy in ethical work. The adherents should maintain the dance and rhythm of life while concentrating on the Supreme.

According to Arnot, the slant of change came in Rammohun towards the end of his life. Rammohun felt pained at any neglect of ethical life but equally at the unreasonable emphasis on reason, for both would tend towards unbalanced growth.

He perceived the same defect in the Unitarian philosophy, and ridiculed the notion that man, a being governed by three powers,...reason, imagination and passion . could be directed by those who addressed themselves only or chiefly to the first of these powers, over-looking the importance of the two other elements of human nature, which must continue to exert an everlasting influence.

Long ago when writing the preface to the English translation of Kenopanishad, Rammohun had urged that only with reason and tradition as living force, could there be a balanced growth in man. After he saw European life so openly, he changed a little and felt that society's external glamour was so tempting as to make conscious ethical life precarious. He also could discern amongst the Unitarians a greater dryness and scholasticism in all matters. There is no doubt that much-too-much brain-taxing matters came upon him and he must have realised a greater need for joy and relaxation. He began to feel the need of combining the quiet worshipful attitude of Hinduism with Christian piety and Muslim fraternity. This was the indication of Universal Worship.

Universal Worship

When Brohmo Sabha (a church of liberal Hinduism) was founded (in 1829 under the name Brahmo Samaj), with the objective of preaching and encouraging non-idolatrous worship of Brohmo, it was thought that not only the enlightened Hindus would find in it the fulfilment of their inner cravings but also the liberal and thoughtful people of all faiths would be attracted. It is true that the number of adherents grew but they were largely from the upper layers of society. The upper strata easily felt a real call to develop a higher form of worship. Within a short time, a kind of a Universal form of worship developed which did appeal to different sections of Indian people. But in its effort to include many others, it fell short by the fact that it was based on Hindu scriptures.

Religious Life in England

Rammohun was in the midst of intense religious life of the Christians (Baptists, Anabaptists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Catholics, Unitarians etc.), their ethical propensities and their mechanical teachings in the new English surroundings. Rammohun's alert mind could easily distinguish the true and abiding from the transient and fleeting in European life. This formed the common substratum of different denominations. The following will show Rammohun's all-embracing catholicism :

His defence of Christianity against Hinduism, and of Hinduism against Christianity, can be easily explained on this basis, though they have been stumbling blocks to some. More wonderful still, he defends Christianity as he conceived it against unreservedly the authority of the Christian Scriptures. He accepts what authority is claimed in and for the Christian Bible as God's own truth; he argues as a Christian, and by collation of texts and the application of the acknowledged canons of spiritual interpretation, he finds the purest Universal Religion as the precious truth taught in these Scriptures. So with Islam, so with the Hindu sastras, and so would he have done doubtless with Buddhism and

Jainism. And yet in playing as many parts he kept his personality intact and integral.

In his youth Rammohun painfully realised how in the Indian society Hindus, Muslims and Christians were growing in closed compartments without any mutual exchange. The petrified forces of tradition and unbridled religious passions and prejudices prevailed over rationality. Rammohun struggled against these incessantly by writing and whenever possible by advocating. Towards the latter half of his life, those who had a glimpse of his mental make-up saw in him a synthesis of the three cultures. This would entitle him, as a universal man who had adopted the best of other religions, to be called a man of universal religion.

Universal Religion

B.N. Seal has given succinctly an idea of what its contents are :

.. All religions, ethnic or credal, all religions by which masses of men have lived as social aggregates, must be recognised as moving along their own lines of historic tradition to a universal ideal or centre of convergence. That ideal is the ideal of Universal Religion. To put the Raja's implications in the terms of our own age this is not a static ideal, but a developing ideal, and as the different religions in the course of their own forward march approach one another and approach the common centre more and more, the centre of convergence itself shifts or moves forward; so that the ideal always remains an ideal, beckoning ever forward and upward to the infinitudes of God.

.....He could combine in his personal religion the fundamentals of Hindu, Christian and Islamic experiences. He transvalued all these values, and he made them integral to his own valuation of life. In truth, he practised the discipline of Yoga, the discipline of Moshayak (the lover of God), and the discipline of the Christian Saint. Thus he was multipersonal in a true sense of the term. These

historic cults and cultures had been fused in one discipline of Universal humanity in his soul.....

.....Every sphere of human interest, all the sciences and arts, must be autonomous, and as such ruled only by the natural laws pertaining to their respective domains. And religion will be there only to coordinate these various spheres and activities by its own guiding principles and goal, Lokasreyas, or the Universal good. The progressive convergence of the national religions is possible only on this fundamental assumption and Hindu Smriti, Moslem Shariat, and Christian Canonical Law must, in fulfilment of their own basic religious principles, adapt themselves to the revelations of God's own truth in Science and the Laws of Nature and Society.

The true and abiding verities as indicated above existed as much in Christianity as in Islam and Hinduism. It flashed in Rammohun's mind that these verities should be the nucleus of a Universal Religion as our ideal. Rammohun gave serious thought to the best in Hindu, Muslim and Christian scriptures and he realised that this would widen the Indian's vision.

Rammohun's mind was alert, self-critical and progressive. He watched with interest how much Christian virtues were reflected in the habits and behaviour of the English, how much of their daily life was actuated by material considerations and how much by religion. Rammohun's vitality for evaluating new elements in the social life around him was remarkable. His mind did not stagnate anywhere. It was a veritable cauldron of heterogeneous trends and passions, of traditionalism and rationalism, intellectualism and humanism. What emerged did not go fully with either Islam, Christianity, Hinduism or any established religion. His restless mind sought realisation in a Universal Religion. But it remained confined to a very few.

His firm stand on Unitarianism in the controversy which lasted over three years, after it became known in Europe and America through his writings, drew a profound response from

all quarters. His strenuous efforts seemed to indicate that he had found in Unitarianism the guide to lead men the way he desired. It is true Unitarianism took him a long way, but a time came when he found it inadequate. Soon it became plain to him that he had outgrown the phase when he wrote the preface to the English translation of *Kenopanishad*. While he viewed the balanced growth of man on the basis of Unitarianism and reason, he now felt that there was a need to give a greater role to "tradition".

This weightage on tradition in religious life with a diminishing stress on intellectualism and rationality, with a growing conviction that man's perversity increased as rationality became a fetish, impressed him more and more clearly during his stay in England. Comparing Rammohun's earlier years in Calcutta, Arnot noted :

As he advanced in age, he became more strongly impressed with the importance of religion to the welfare of society, and the pernicious effects of scepticism. In his younger years, his mind had been deeply struck with the evils of believing too much, and against that he directed all his energies; but in his later days, he began to feel that there was as much, if not greater, danger in the tendency to believe too little.

NOTES

1. Rammohun had a profound reverence for Christ as having come with a divine mission. It must therefore have been painful for him to make the critical observations about Christ in his reply to the Reverend Editor of the *Friend of India*. Rammohun had to do it because he could not accept Jesus or anybody in flesh and blood as the incarnation of God.
2. Apart from this fundamental position, he found that some of the Christian concepts, specially the doctrine of Atonement, were finding it difficult to get general acceptance. Rammohun's own writing may be quoted for presenting his view in the proper perspective :

.....I should wish to know whether Jesus, whom the Editor represents as God incarnate, suffered death and pain for the sins of men

in his divine nature or in his human capacity (Nag and Burman : *English Works of Rammohun*, Part VI, p. 33).

The latter portion of the above statement gave a different colour to the entire concept. Rammohun fully confirmed this in the following passage :

And he took with him Peter and the two sons of Zubedee and began to be sorrowful and very heavy and prayed saying 'Oh my father, if it be possible, let this cup (meaning death) pass from me..... he went away and said 'Abba, father, all things are possible unto thee; take away the cup from me' (Mark). And again.....'father, if thou be willing, remove the cup from me' (Luke).

All this underlines that Jesus took this step as human being. Becoming a ransom hardly entitled one to the appellation 'Saviour', for there are others like Moses, Elija and John the Baptist who equally deserve it, "If Jesus be esteemed merely as a teacher, the greater degree of honour must be given to Moses, for it was in reality his (Moses) law that Jesus explained and established. (Nag and Burman, *op cit.*, Part VI, p. 33.)

In respect of the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus as Atonement for the sins of mankind, the text runs : "I am the living bread which came down from heaven ; if any man eat of this bread he shall live for ever". Rammohun took this to mean that Jesus was invested with a divine commission to deliver instructions leading to eternal beatitude. He put this question to the Rev. Editor :

That Jesus suffered death and pain in his human capacity as an atonement for the offences of others, seems totally inconsistent with the justice ascribed to God and even at variance with those principles of equity required of men : for it would be a piece of gross inequity to afflict one innocent being who had all human feelings and who had never transgressed the will of God with the death on the cross for the crimes committed by others.....

What After Rammohun ?

AFTER Rammohun's death, there was a vacuum in the higher sections of the people in Calcutta. When Rammohun was away on visit his followers had been sustained by the thought that on his return he would be able to give substantial lead in many ways as a world figure. Such hopes now disappeared. Still Rammohun's main teachings began to find their way into the liberal sections of the Hindu community through his active followers,¹ though they were very small in number. There was hardly any outstanding follower who could organise and continue the movement with understanding, faith and vigour against the continued opposition of the orthodox Hindu leaders. It should be borne in mind that to be Rammohun's true follower one had to have the intellectual virility to counter the slothful influence and sentimental effusions of Gaudiya Vaishnavism and also to counter the aggressive and offensive leanings towards Sakti worship, then prevalent in Bengal. In the absence of Rammohun's balanced religious attitude, the work of Brohmo Mandir was bound to continue merely in a routine way under Pandit Ramchandra Vidyavagis as head-preacher, assisted by the musical adoration of Krishnachandra and Vishnuchandra Chakravarty, the two ardent disciples of Rammohun.

Ten years after Rammohun's death, a fresh impetus was given by the establishment of the *Hindu Theophilanthropic*

Society, which was started by the famous liberal Kessori Chand Mitra. To this society joined Akshoy Kumar Datta, Iswar Gupta, Debendranath Tagore and others. The first two were great literary figures and the third a great religious leader. At that time, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar was not even 25 years old and had kept himself aloof. Kessori Chand Mitra, along with Akshoy Datta, Rakhaladas Halder, etc., was leading a group of radical thinkers. These were the men who in 1852 revived Atmiya Sabha to encourage discussions on subjects like widow marriage, abolition of caste system, abolition of polygamy, etc. Two years later in 1854, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar who was a great rationalist (not a religious man) took up the issue of widow marriage, directing all his energies to the enactment of a law on it. Against strong opposition he succeeded in 1856, though the good work done by him would have been more fruitful if he had sought to reform also the more pernicious system of early marriage by a law fixing the minimum age. He was also conscious about the evils of the practice of polygamy, Kulinism, etc., which completely shattered the morals of the society, but no practical steps were taken in these directions by those who came after Rammohun. The permissive law on the marriage of widows was no doubt helpful in many cases but what was most urgent was prohibition of marriage of young girls and boys at a tender age.

Vidyasagar became a close lieutenant of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore who, in 1856-57 entrusted him with the post of Secretary of the (Adi) Brahmo Samaj. Members of this Samaj were followers of Vedanta in a general way. They accepted heartily the congregational upasana based on Vedantic ideas but also kept in view personal upasana which could be turned into personal Vedantic Dhyana. The latter had a distinct efficacy and was practised only by a very few. Maharshi Debendranath was himself an intensely religious man and a Dualist. He used to say that he dared not be an Advaitin like Rammohun (a votary of "I am He").

On this matter of the concept of Brahmo as in Vedanta, Vidyasagar's attitude was indifferent. Being a rationalist, he attached no importance to spiritual meditations or

assertions and so, in this matter, Vidyasagar did not interest himself. As a matter of fact, he went to the other extreme by stating in his letter to a high educational authority "That the Vedanta and Samkhya are false systems of philosophy is no more a matter of dispute." Such a strong and ill-conceived statement definitely gives a bad flavour to Vidyasagar's scholarship. We take it that what he meant was that Vedanta and Samkhya were subjects not of practical importance and did not concern men in ordinary life. Vidyasagar did not like to worry about metaphysical things or even philosophical problems of life ; therefore spiritual meditation and such other things did not interest him. He laid stress on good education, good morals, helpful attitude to men—in other words, he was imbued with a high sense of humanism. He knew however that Vedanta and Samkhya had given India a high place in the world-thought; still while he rightly attached the greatest significance to useful living, he ignored the higher cultural side forgetting that man cannot be complete without spiritual insight.

Vidyasagar handed over charge of Brahmo Samaj to Maharshi Debendranath on the latter's return from his Himalayan wanderings. It appears to us that there must have been some reason for his parting company, most probably some deep difference in views between them. In Maharshi Debendranath Tagore's writings, there is no mention of this. Either Vidyasagar could not agree with Tattwa-bodhini Sabha's religious stand, or, his rationalist's uncompromising attitude against Hindu traditionalism, might have led him to a position, where he could associate only with such Sabha as would adopt strict rationalism. The latter perhaps was the more likely reason; otherwise he would not have joined the revived Atmiya Sabha where he could find kindred spirits.

The Brahmo Samaj, in the hands of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore and Brahmananda Keshabchandra Sen, went on steadily gaining in strength by bringing dualism (the devotee and the Supreme) within the Unitarian faith (as propagated by Rammohun on the basis of Advaitism). Abolition of idolatry² from Hindu life, which was its main aim, was already an

accomplished fact with the Brahmos. But large sections of Hindus remained outside; one section stuck to idol-worship with faith and conviction. To assess how far Rammohun's movement succeeded or failed and the nature of that success or failure, it will be sufficient to weigh carefully its effects as were externally visible in the society and to identify also the thought-currents behind the new liberal outlook on life that was developing among a large section of the people. The silent achievements of Brahmoism are very often overlooked or even belittled by being labelled as "Colonial Culture", which is actually a sinister attack on liberalism; it expresses a false pride in clinging to the decaying values of flimsy traditions.

After a century and a half it appears that the practice of idol worship has increased. It is probably undeniable that among the priestly and orthodox classes and the lower middle class womenfolk idol-worship is as much as before; indeed, with advancing years they become more conservative. Yet sections of people, however small, have disregarded idol-worship either out of conviction or sheer indifference. And here the constant emphasis of Brahmo teachings must have had their impact. Where men have accepted idol worship, not as a mark of devotion nor as a mark of simple belief that the Divine has come to reside in the idol but have accepted it as occasion for a national and social festival, we can take it as a clear mark of unquestionable faith in tradition. This is a position which should be very much appreciated. The other position is where faith in idol-worship has weakened so much that people take no notice of the ceremonials of the worship of the idol or the image. This surely is a sign of the influence of Brahmo teachings. Rammohun's writings show that he could detect a distinct sign of improvement among small groups in higher section of the Hindu society. All Hindus are united in the belief that social life must have festive occasions for congregational enjoyment. Rammohun too laid stress on them disregarding meaningless ceremonials. The Brahmo influence was gaining ground slowly and steadily.

Sometimes later, a strong wave of idol-worship came upon

Bengal and this was due to the well-known Kali worshipper Ramakrishna Paramahansa. This movement was strongly supported by a very eminent man Swami Vivekananda who in his youth, however, had been imbued with Brahmo faith but later on he came under the influence of the Paramahansa. There is not the slightest doubt that the Brahmo movement suffered a severe setback by the subsequent few decades of intense idol-worship. As time passed, this intensity subsided and Brahmo faith began to appear again. And Rammohun returned as a reformer.

Rammohun's Emphasis on Man's Sovereign Rights to Freely Think and Act

From age to age, great men come and go, leaving the impact of their thoughts and action, while lesser men of religious ostentations and distorted propensities often assume a deceptive aura about them in such a manner that in course of time they mesmerise men's thinking and actions. Thus, for a time, evils outweigh imperceptibly and superstitions and false pretensions darken men's vision and thinking to mislead them; then the emergence of a luminary sheds a clear light on the sovereign rights of man to rise above and act. Such an epoch-making man was Rammohun. It is not so much Rammohun's emphasis on Brohmo faith as his emphasis on man's untrammelled thinking, that gave India a clear direction and ushered it into a new epoch by opening the doors on the distant West.

NOTES

1. 1839—Tattwabodhini Sabha established.

1843—Tattwabodhini Patrika established.

Vedas began to be publicly read on Debendranath's instructions.

Debendranath took initiation with 20 others in Brahmo Dharma from Ramchandra Vidyabagish.

Samajunnati Bidhayini Surhid Sabha established by Kissori chand Mitra at his residence.

1846—Rajnarain Basu (Aurobindo's mother's father) took Brahmo Dharma.

1848—Brahmo Dharma Grantha written by Debendranath, accepted as the guide of Brahmo Dharma, in place of Vedanta-Pratipadya-Dharma.

2. Rammohun's passionate appeal to the Hindus ran as follows :

My reflections upon these solemn truths have been most painful for many years. I have ceased to contemplate with the strongest feeling of regret, the obstinate adherence of my countrymen to their fatal system of idolatry, including, for the sake of propitiating their supposed Deities, the violation of every humane and social feeling And this in various instances ; but more especially in the dreadful acts of self-destruction and the immolation of the nearest relations, under the delusion of conforming to sacred religious rites. I have never ceased, I repeat, to contemplate these practices with the strongest feelings of regret, and to view in them the moral debasement of a race who, I cannot help thinking, are capable of better things ; whose susceptibility, patience, and mildness of character, render them worthy of a better destiny. Under these impressions, therefore, I have been impelled to lay before them genuine translations of parts of their scripture, which inculcates not only the enlightened worship of one God, but the purest principles of morality, accompanied with such notices as I deemed requisite to oppose the arguments employed by the Brahmins in defence of their beloved system. Most earnestly do I pray that the whole may, sooner or later, prove efficient in producing on the minds Hindus in general, a conviction of the rationality of believing in and adoring the Supreme Being only; together with a complete perception and practice of that grand and comprehensive moral principle—Do unto others as ye would be done by.

Rammohun and His Position in Europe and America

France

RAMMOHUN'S reputation reached France around 1818 with the publication of the annotations of *Vedanta Grantha* and *Vedanta-Sar*. It is recorded that in that year one M. D'Acosta, Editor of *Times* of Calcutta, despatched to Abbe Gregoire, Bishop of Blois (in France), some of Rammohun's writings and his life sketch. Thus Rammohun came to be known to the learned society of Paris. As recorded by Lant Carpenter, Abbe Gregoire issued in French a pamphlet about Rammohun and his works. This was subsequently published also in *Chronique Religieuse* and later, in 1820, in an English translation in the *Monthly Repository*. Mary Carpenter in her *Last Days in England of Raja Rammohun Roy* (Calcutta, 1915) listed eight of Rammohun's tracts as having been translated. Also in 1823, the Societe Asiatique of France, in the August issue of its Journal brought out another list of Rammohun's works, besides an article on Rammohun by M. Lanjuinais in the October issue. Here it may be mentioned that the Societe Asiatique set up a Commission consisting of Burnouf, Lanjuinais and Klaproth who, after evaluating Rammohun's scholarship and his contribution specially to Indology, unanimously recommended Rammohun's election as an honorary member on July 5, 1824.

The well-known French scholar M. Garcin de Tassy was not only acquainted with the work of Rammohun but also corresponded with him in Hindi, Persian and English. Another eminent Frenchman, Victor Jacquemont, was also so impressed with Rammohun's writings that in 1829 while travelling through India he took the opportunity of meeting him in Calcutta. A mention may be made here that J.C.L. Sismondi (1773-1842) the noted Swiss historian (on Italian Republics), was another famous person who paid eloquent tribute to Rammohun.

Germany

Rammohun's first English work, the translation of Vedanta, appeared in German at Jena in 1817. This is significant since Germany became the most advanced centre for Vedantic studies under a host of German scholars like Rosen, Deussen, Max Muller, etc. The study of Vedanta philosophy helped in the rise and popularity of transcendentalism in Germany with Schopenhauer as its pioneer. It may be remarked that the German philosopher had the highest respect for the Vedanta.

Italy

Rammohun's sympathy for Italy's freedom struggle, especially the Carbonari movement, some years ago and his strong condemnation of the cruel suppression of the Neapolitan uprising naturally made his name popular in certain circles of Italy. As early as January 1828, we find the well known Italian traveller Count Vidua mentioned as a curious participant in the meeting at Calcutta of Rammohun's Unitarian Mission. And as late as 1933, there was Dr. C. Riaudo of the Italian Seminary, who deemed it proper to express gratitude to the memory of this great man on behalf of Italy.

Ireland and Scotland

Long ago, in 1822, it was Rammohun who had written in his newspaper *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* about the impending famine in Ireland which the Irish people remembered. The Scottish people did not lag behind in appreciating Rammohun's efforts

in all progressive movements. It will be seen that most of the European members of the First Unitarian Association in Calcutta were Scotsmen and as his Life-Sketch reveals, he received the most sincere friendship from them. Rammohun, in his turn, reciprocated by dedicating to his friend, Mrs. Johnston, his tract written in England on *Some Remarks in Vindication of the Resolution passed by Government of Bengal in 1829...in India*.

On Rammohun's death, a sermon on "A learned Indian in search of Religion" was delivered by Rev. William Hamilton Drummond, an Irishman, who, in 1827, had brought out a book on *The Doctrine of the Trinity founded neither on Scriptures nor on Reason and Common-sense, but on Tradition and Infallible Church*. This was published in Dublin and London and dedicated to Rammohun and Rev. W. E. Channing. It may not be out of place to mention here that it was Rammohun at whose instance the Scottish missionaries in Calcutta wrote to Scotland and in response, Rev. Duff was sent to India for educational purposes.

United States of America

Rammohun Roy came to be known in the United States specially through Americans living in London and in other places of England and also through English and American periodicals and newspapers. Rammohun's published works began to reach the readers in the United States only gradually but his letters to friends had already made him known. To ordinary Europeans and Americans, the real import of Upanishadic thought remained hard to understand unless some elementary background had previously been obtained. The level of familiarisation was distinctly better in England precisely because of the existence of a host of missionaries, civil servants and traders who could carry the message of India to England. These people carried with them experiences and impressions of the Indian mind; thus, Hindu mode of living and thinking and Hindu religious life came to be known to many people, even though in a distorted and incomplete form. After the publication of his *Precepts of Jesus* and specially after Rev. Adam became

Unitarian under Rammohun's influence, the Europeans began to take Hindu thought slightly more seriously. Also they gave greater stress on Rammohun's Christian leanings and on his association with the Churches he attended in England. How his name and fame travelled to America can be seen from the following :

...It was through American and English periodicals, therefore, that the two general types of criticisms and discussions of Rammohun Roy came before the American reading public of the period 1816-1840. The first important discussion of Rammohun Roy as a writer and philosopher appeared in the *North American Review* as early as 1818. We have before us three pamphlets published during the last eighteen months in Calcutta by Rammohun Roy.... We propose to give such extracts of these pamphlets as may serve to make our readers somewhat acquainted with the present notions of the Hindus, the pure doctrines of their sacred books, and the views and motives of the learned native whom we have mentioned. ...The author's great object seems to be to do away with worship of idols and to introduce in its stead that of one Supreme Being.

Some Americans of a serious bent of mind who were also Unitarians, of whom Ellery Channing was very important, were specially interested in the Unitarian-Trinitarian controversy of Rammohun. They and many others felt that Rammohun was, in spite of his emphasis on Vedanta, heading towards Christianity, as it became evident from his writing, which bore his fervour and leanings for Christian faith. Then came the attack on Rammohun in the Baptist Mission journal *Christian Watchman*, that under no circumstances could Rammohun be taken for a Christian. To this, a strong reply was given by *Christian Register* of Boston :

We are surprised to notice in the *Watchman* of yesterday a very harsh and virulent attack on Rammohun Roy, denying that he is a Christian, declaring that he "has no more faith in the Gospel than Mohamet had," and that he does not believe the scriptures as a revelation from God.... Those

who allow no man the name of Christian or consider anyone a believer in Christ who does not admit into his creed the whole circles of Trinitarian and Calvinistic jargon, may well call such a man as Rammohun Roy, no Christian, a disbeliever in Revelation, a fit companion of Mohamet... The attempt to depreciate the character of Rammohun Roy is evidence with how much dread his influence is regarded as an opposer of Trinitarian and Calvinistic dogmas.

The *Boston Observer*, which had been sympathetically vicwing the attitude of Rammohun, now criticised his opposition to the belief in the divinity of Christ. From this some Bishops even concluded that Rammohun was more inclined towards the Established Church and hence not a Unitarian. This was the stand taken in *Christian Reformer*, although a writer in another journal *Christian Observer* thought that Rammohun had been unable to catch the true spirit of the Christian doctrines because of his too close association with Unitarianism. To this the *Boston Observer* replied strongly with the few lines given below :

Few men of such rare excellence of character have been the subject of so much calumny as this great Hindoo Reformer, on account of his adopting Unitarian sentiments. He was frequently attacked with reckless and unprincipled acrimony during his life, as not worthy to bear the Christian name; but hardly has the grave closed over his remains, before a legion of traducers, like the devil contending with Michael the Archangel for the body of Moses, lay claim to his possession, and deny him a place among those Christians whose principles his warmly espoused and ably defended.

A subsequent article in 1823 in an issue of *Christian Disciple*, a Unitarian periodical in the USA, reviewed Rammohun's books and papers as were available through materials published in the *Monthly Repository of Theology* of England. The article held that brilliant as Rammohun was, it was Christian influence which was largely responsible for the revolutionary stand he had adopted. According to *Christian Disciple* :

We apprehend, then, that the works of Rammohun Roy are not to be regarded merely as trophies of the power of the uncommon individual mind. They are proof to us that, as far as insight, not evidence and the capacity of just reasoning, goes there is in the minds of his countrymen of similar rank and education, a degree of preparation for Christianity.

A much longer and more appreciative review of Rammohun's work was published in 1818 in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. As stated before many such articles which first appeared in the periodicals in Britain used to be reproduced in full in the American papers. After Rammohun's death a Boston periodical *Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature* carried an article "Rammohun Roy" based on quotations from several English journals like the *Asiatic Journal*, *Athenium*, *Court Journal* (which contained a biographical note on Rammohun by Montgomery Robert Martin), *Bristol Gazette* (with a short biography by Dr. Lant Carpenter). The American writer of this article did not agree with the statements made in these English Journals, particularly the one by Sandford Arnot, that to show that Rammohun "was a Unitarian or a Christian, in any particular form, would require a distinct species of evidence, which his works do not furnish...." The *Court Journal* remarked :

It is quite ridiculous, it is said, to witness the audacity with which the Unitarians and Trinitarians in England contend for the honour of this highly gifted man, having renounced the idolatry of his countrymen for their sect. The fact is, Rammohun Roy was a Lutheran with the churchmen, a Unitarian with Dr. Carpenter, a follower of Moses and the Prophet with the Jews, a pure Hindoo, or rather a Buddhist with a few of his countrymen, and a good Mussulman with the disciples of Mohammet... He had no faith in creeds, and having renounced the adoration of a million Deities, in Hindooism, because contrary to reason, he was not likely to be a believer in the Trinity, the doctrines of which are inscrutable to mortal reason...

The editor, however, gave a personal comment : "All this we believe to be incorrect" and added pointedly "The question whether Rammohun Roy were a Christian in the proper sense of the word, we do not regard as one of much interest, and we rejoice that it may be considered as settled by the evidence of Dr. Carpenter's addresses in his pamphlets."

This American contributor to *Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature* (Boston) wrote the article evidently with a hostile view by collecting points from different journals and putting them sarcastically. Thus he has given a confused version of Rammohun's religious faith. This is glaring where doubt has been expressed on (1) whether Rammohun was a Christian or a Hindu, for it was well known that he was a Hindu with a strong appreciation of Christian ethics, and (2) whether Rammohun was a Unitarian—it was well-known that he was a Unitarian par excellence (not only from Christian point of view of current Hinduism but also from that of Vedanta-Advaitism).

It will be appreciated to place here the views of the *Christian Register* :

Rammohun Roy regarded our country with peculiar interest and received Americans who sought his acquaintance with strong expressions of pleasure. Those who have enjoyed the privilege of seeing him, speak of him in the warmest terms of admiration, as being in person, manners, and conversation, the very ideal which the imagination would form of him. It was his intention to have visited us in the spring, and many were already indulging in delightful anticipation of seeing and conversing with the man who, though removed from us by half the globe, was yet bound to us by such strong ties of sympathy and opinion.

Further Adrienne Moore in her book *Rammohun Roy and America* (p. 2) writes :

It is too much to presume that his influence—during the most active part of his lifetime, when he was generally known

to the reading public of America and became (during the 1820s) almost a household word in New England—was one of the possible causes of a new cycle of thought in America, and that this new cycle helped to usher in Transcendentalism ? For it was clear that Rammohun Roy's achievements were not unknown to at least the leading spirit of the so-called "Transcendental group"—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Also the *Salem Courier* (Massachusetts) of November 5, 1828, devoted five columns to Rammohun Roy, covering the entire front page and a column of the second.

Miss Moore writes on p. 164 of her book :

Until the advent of Roy, the Orient had seemed far removed and impersonal to American thought. But with the coming of this great leader there took place a certain fusion of East and West, a realization that in spite of distance and difference, the Indian, as personified in Rammohun Roy, was close kin to his American brother.

She also quotes in foot-note 42 on p. 164 the following :

This feeling of kinship is exemplified by a pamphlet included among *Tracts on Slavery* in the Boston Public Library. The pamphlet (the title page of which is missing) is apparently a copy of an address to the United States Congress against slavery and must have been delivered before the death of Rammohun Roy. It is here significant because the author assuming the name of Rammohun Roy, paid the Hindu the highest compliment that he could be paid in America. The pertinent passages, which also show the familiarity of American readers with the Hindu, are as follows : "...May no rule of equity, may no lust of power, that it is revolting to an undepraved mind either to exert or to endure, tempt us also to destruction, and convert the garden of the union into a field of blood ! In closing this address, allow me to assume the name of one of the most enlightened and benevolent of the human race now living, though not a white man, Rammohun Roy."

Up to this point, Rammohun was judged in America as an interpreter of Hindu religious thoughts and a unique contributor to the cause of bringing India and America closer as would be evident from Moore's assertion : "There took place a certain fusion of East and West". This apart, some people in America having closely followed Rammohun's attitude and utterances in the distant corners of India, were so much impressed that one of them (the name unknown) felt happy to identify himself with the higher sentiments expressed by Rammohun Roy. Such was the tremendous influence Rammohun could achieve in certain sections of America from so remote a corner of the world. The American readers, specially the enlightened circles, showed sufficient interest and felt involved when the controversy arose between Baptists and Unitarians.

In concluding, Miss Moore writes :

I have here made a definite allusion to Rammohun Roy as to the medium through which Oriental philosophy reached New England. While factually no one can prove that it was the reading of his books of the informations about him strewn in the pages of many contemporary periodicals which stirred the New England mind so deeply, one thing is certain : previous to New England's knowledge of Rammohun there was no sign of any influence of Oriental thought on the American mind. In the period of 1800 to 1815 or 1820 the only Oriental data which I could trace in America were erudite Asiatic Society of England publications and a few far-fetched Oriental tales. Neither impressed the New England mind. No first rate American writer showed any sign of interest in the Orient.... The dual impact of Romanticism from England and more especially from Germany (the latter being alive with philosophic speculation and mystic in quality) and Oriental thought, the first consciousness of which, I feel certain, was stirred unwittingly and imperceptibly by Rammohun Roy..... Roy..... produced the flower which is known as American Transcendentalism.....The inspiration of Romanticism came from the West but the needed intellectual food certainly came from the East.

Rammohun's death came unexpectedly and it cast a gloom over the section of people in America who were making preparations for a busy programme to receive him. We have ample reason to believe that Rammohun created a name and influence in at least certain parts of America which were known for their liberal and thoughtful minds, as a great exponent of Unitarianism, benevolence and fraternity. The enthusiastic support of Rammohun's mission in life might have flung open new avenues of thinking and synthesis of ideas amongst the Americans. Already the American Unitarian Association specially recognised his mission when it put on record :

Rammohun won for himself a place with Channing and Parker and other emancipators of the human race as one of the world's immortals.

Rammohun, a Great Visionary

The following was displayed at the Paris Exhibition, of September, 1949 in connection with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights :

(1) **Proposal for an international Congress :**

A letter of Raja Rammohun Roy (Dec. 1832) to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, Paris, proposing the establishment of a Congress of Nations and declaring that "All Mankind are but One Family." (Copy from India Office).

(2) **Rammohun Roy on the need for mass education on scientific lines. (Extract from Rammohun's letters dated Dec. 1823 to Lord Amherst).**

(3) **Rammohun Roy on unrestricted publications as the only effectual means for good Government. (Extract from a petition submitted to the Supreme Court against Press Ordinance, March 1823).**

(4) **Women's rights : (Extract from *Rammohun Roy's Works*, Vol. I, p. 17).**

Rammohun was one of the most ardent among 19th Century feminists. In this work, he demolishes the legends regarding women's intellectual and moral inferiority to men. In another of his works (Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females) he put forward a claim of women to be placed on the same footing with men in the matter of inheritance.

- (5) Pandit Vidyasagar champions the cause of European science against traditional teachings : (Extracts from a letter (August 1853) addressed by Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar to the Council of Education, Government of India. In this the Pandit severely criticises the proposal of Dr. Ballantyne for cultivation of ancient lore at the expense of Western learning and strongly recommends modernisation of the existing system.

Rammohun in World Perspective

Martin Luther—Erasmus—Rammohun

LUTHER (1483-1546) wrote his famous thesis *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* with a view to breaking the Papal power in respect of its edicts and indulgences so as to get rid of corruption, crime and moral laxities and restore life to faith in the Bible. With the help of the illustrious monk and scholar Erasmus, he succeeded in bringing about the reformation. Three hundred years after Luther, Rammohun appeared with a mission of reforming Hindu society in India and educating public opinion to a high sense of its duty to motherland. Rammohun appealed to the Hindus to get rid of unnecessary over-growths on Hindu religion and meaningless practices. He advocated a return to the pristine glory of Hinduism, its monotheism and monism.

As has been said above, both Luther and Rammohun engaged themselves in religious reforms but it may be pointed out that Rammohun entered into social reforms much more for a particular community. He wanted the more intelligent section of Hindus to get rid of the unnecessary practices and unintelligible and mechanical utterances. The stress however was on real devotion in worship for all human beings. This, he felt,

would bring through a rational mode of worship a oneness of outlook on life. He felt this would virtually achieve what Vedanta¹ teaches and Vedanta was the undisputed common link binding all Hindus of India. In this respect Rammohun's move was to bring some kind of homogeneity in Indian people of different regions, in which matter however Rammohun's success was very small—all that can be said would be that a certain mental awareness of the problem was brought about—it was not followed in practice.

Luther's success was quite marked. Luther's problems, as early as in the 15th Century, were far more acute. We read descriptions that the Western churches were "crying out for reformation but nobody knew what to reform and how to reform". It was Luther who gave form to the demands of reform. In this work he ran the heaviest risks from the Pope who was all powerful. Luther was however aided by public agitation and though he was excommunicated, a vast mass followed him and he was successful in bringing about Protestant Reformation in the Christendom.

One or two points, to underline the fundamental difference between Luther and Rammohun in their attitude to the Supreme, may be given. Luther had a deep conviction that the sinner's hope lay entirely in the grace of God and redemption by Christ but Rammohun felt that a sinner could be redeemed only by the merit of his own action in life and no power lay elsewhere excepting in himself. Luther had an active and vigorous mind but "was rough in language, vulgar, crude and coarse. He had humour and loud laughter but not wit" (Owen Chadwick : *The Reformation*, p. 44). Some of his later friends lamented that if he had cared a little more for the literature and thought of the ancient world, it might have helped to soften his roughness. Rammohun, on the other hand, was a most well-educated and cultured man in the best of traditions and full of sympathy and understanding. His heart was always overflowing with generous impulses and kindly feelings.

In the matter of Luther's success, a further observation may be made. Many European States did not like at all to

be under the Papacy and they thoroughly disliked being under Italy too in any form. Luther's historical role will be clear from the following :

The Western Church was irremediably divided from the Eastern Orthodox Church since the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204. An obvious consequence of the Reformation was the further splintering of Western Christianity. The disunity was made possible by that decline in the idea of Christendom, through the rise of national sovereignties, which was not a result but a cause of Protestant success. Western Christendom, being ready for secular division, was open to religious division. The Protestant revolt, and the stern answer of Counter-Reformation, not only split the Church but hardened the antagonisms of political divisions.

Erasmus was primarily responsible for whatever renaissance at that time pervaded Germany where his role was much less in the reformation movement and that is why the protestant movement is associated very largely, if not entirely, with the name of Martin Luther. It was therefore nothing strange that having adopted certain lines of approach in his actual working Martin Luther came in conflict with Erasmus in certain matters. All the same, it is worth remembering the famous saying "Erasmus laid the egg and Luther hatched it."

Rammohun is more often compared with this great Dutch catholic and humanist, Erasmus, "whose intellect was powerful as well as agile and who could easily penetrate into the core of his subjects and who attained great distinction in scholarship."

French Scholars heralded by Anquetil Duperron

In the middle of the 18th Century, Duperron, who came to India with French East India Company, happened to lay his hands on some Sanskrit documents and some scrap materials relating to Indology. Somehow he got very much interested in them and carried them to Paris to deposit them there in a learned academy. This attracted French scholars to

Indology. Thus grew in Paris a learned society for the study of Upanishads.

Von Schlegel—Ziegenbalg—Bopp—Von Roth, etc.

These scholars found the Upanishads already translated into Latin and Persian from Sanskrit. They took the greatest interest in studying them and adding their own translations ; in course of time, the German contribution to Upanishadic literature became the largest.

William Jones — Colebrooke—Wilkins—Wilson, etc.

These English scholars contributed enormous Upanishadic and other literatures in English. Colebrooke's contribution in Dayabhag and Mitakshara law-glossaries will remain a monumental work for all times.

Rammohun in Bentham's Company

Bentham, the most reputed English philosopher of the time, admired Rammohun's crusade against idolatrous practices. His letter to Rammohun is a significant document (See Explanatory Note 1, p. 239) and one feels tempted to visualise Rammohun seated in Bentham's circle² with Malthus, Wilberforce, James Mill, Darwin, Bentinck, John Stuart Mill, etc. This vision would have become a reality if Rammohun's visit to England had come only a little earlier, as indeed had been contemplated by him since 1817. A little later we find two other powerful intellects, Karl Marx² and Max Muller², who appeared on the world scene in different fields of thought.

Rammohun and Roscoe—Jefferson—Channing—Spencer—Bentinck—Emerson—Robert Owen—Charles Grant—Charles Wynn—Buckingham—David Hare—Digby—Woodford—Duff—Rev. William Adam—Max Muller—Harisharnanda—Ranchandra Vidyabagis

It will be remembered that at a very early period of his life Roscoe had collected the moral precepts of the New

Testament in the form of a small volume, to which he gave the title of *Christian Morality, as contained in the Precepts of the New Testament, in the language of Jesus Christ*. In declining years of his life this youthful attempt was recalled to his mind by a work of a similar character proceeding from a very unexpected quarter. That was *The Precepts of Jesus*, collected, arranged and published at Calcutta by Rammohun Roy, who, according to Roscoe, having become a convert to Christianity, endeavoured in this manner to recommend the religion of Christ to his countrymen.

The character and history of Rammohun excited in the highest degree the interest and admiration of Roscoe. He felt that not only had this extraordinary man emancipated his mind from the dark and cruel superstitions in which he had been reared, but had also cultivated his intellect to a degree which few natives of more favoured climes and countries attained. For studying the Scriptures, Rammohun had rendered himself familiar with Hebrew and Greek and had improved his mind by the study of various branches of knowledge. But these were the least of his merits. More significant was his keen realisation that excellence of man's character and his fulfilment consisted in the enlarged views with regard to the welfare and improvement of his species. With a benevolent zeal Rammohun promoted every project for the extension of man's upliftment in all directions. Roscoe felt that apart from these high ideals, Rammohun had also a practical bent of mind for he came to know that he gave a striking proof of his practical sense by the erection of a printing-press at Calcutta for his own work *The Precepts of Jesus* and for other works calculated to extend human knowledge and disseminate Christian thoughts amongst the people of India.

It is only natural that with a man of this high and enlightened vision, Roscoe should be desirous of communicating without any loss of time and accordingly he took advantage of the opportunity of one of his friends (Thomas Hodgson Fletcher of Liverpool) proceeding to India

around late 1830 to transmit to Rammohun a small collection of his works with a letter to accompany it.

Jefferson and Roscoe

Jefferson and Roscoe³ gave great stress in their writings on reason and rationality, Channing³ also did the same in a much milder way. Rammohun's emphasis on them and his contempt for miracles etc. moved Roscoe and Bentham from another corner of the globe and turned this into a world-thought.

Rammohun wrote about the essence of Christian ethics in the *Precepts of Jesus* where he discarded miracles, divinity of Christ, etc. and showed that Jesus was a super-man and his doctrines were a source of peace and happiness for mankind. Roscoe, much impressed, wrote to Rammohun in appreciation a letter (see Explanatory Note 2, p. 243). Roscoe's book had already appeared under the title *Christian Morality as contained in the Precepts of the New Testament, in the language of Jesus Christ*. Sometime earlier Thomas Jefferson had in the United States brought out some tracts on the same subject, namely the ethical doctrines of Jesus shorn of miracles.

Roscoe and Jefferson might have known each other's work but Rammohun knew nothing of them except that after Rammohun's own *Precepts of Jesus* appeared, Roscoe read it and wrote to him expressing deep admiration. He little knew that an opportunity would soon come for them to meet in Liverpool. William Roscoe's son Henry included this letter in the Memoir of his father.

Unitarianism, both in Hinduism and Christianity, did not have more than only a small hold but Rammohun and Channing were strong champions and in this respect predecessors like Lindsay, Priestley, Belsham, Martineau, etc. deserve special mention.

William Ellery Channing

He was an American contemporary of Rammohun and attained distinction as an ardent Unitarian. He was more of a

religious thinker than a secular intellectual. Though a Unitarian Channing was very much averse to forming a separate religious body. When his followers grew in number and it seemed that he would have to form an organisation, Channing still greatly hesitated fearing that it would soon produce a Unitarian orthodoxy with all unavoidable concomitants. Channing used to say, "I desire to escape the narrow walls of particular church and live under the open sky"; and elsewhere, "looking far and wide and seeing with my own eyes and hearing with my ears". The movement soon got out of his control, in a sermon delivered in 1819, he defined the position of the Unitarian party. It was based upon, (1) the right of the human reason to interpret the scriptures, (2) the Unity of Godhead, and (3) inherent goodness of human nature. In May, 1825, the American Unitarian Association was organised and Channing's Unitarianism came to be recognised as a form of religious liberalism.

The three main principles enunciated by Channing as the basis of this religious body were the same as Rammohun's; where Channing's Unitarianism differed from his was that : "He (Channing) still clung fondly to the supernatural elements of Christian tradition." Actually the difference went much deeper and was almost fundamental because "Channing's objection to the Trinitarian orthodoxy of the time was not so much to its doctrine about the nature of the Godhead as to its view.....that human nature was essentially depraved and incapable of natural growth into goodness"; and all this was abhorrent to Rammohun. One could observe that Channing's Unitarianism did not reject the miracles of the New Testament. This was a clear and fundamental deviation from Unitarianism in its proper sense.

He cheerfully took the name Unitarian, because unwearied efforts were made to raise against it a popular cry, and he never was in any sense a Trinitarian. But he believed in Christ's pre-existence, he accepted his miracles. He would not however exclude from his fellowship the stoutest humanitarian, though he might repudiate the miracles altogether. For such a mind denominational aggressive-

ness was impossible and this spirit was infused into the leaders of the movement which culminated in the foundation of the Divinity School of Harvard University in 1816 when the Unitarian controversy was at its height.

Rammohun was not happy at Channing's weak and compromising position but it only makes Channing more clearly and fundamentally a religious man.

..... Channing declared himself surer that his rational nature was from God than any book, that is the expression of him. Will and Reason and Conscience were thus enthroned in the ultimate seat of judgment.

Herbert Spencer

The ideas contained in Rammohun's *Tufat* got some support a half-century later from Herbert Spencer's (1820-1903) *First Principles*. It is well known that opposition to idolatry drew Rammohun to Islam and Christianity, yet certain elements or tenets in those repelled him. In every religion, he wrote in *Tufat*, there were things true and things false; no religion was wholly false or wholly true. A religion was true only to the extent that rationality manifested itself on important questions or where natural religious expressions made undoubted mark in essential matters or contents; while a religion in which scriptural injunctions with or without circumstantial variations, had a predominant sway over sanction of reason and religious awareness, was false to that extent. The common elements of all religions constituted the truth, according to Rammohun, and it was these common elements which marked the basis of Universal Religion. As the different religions gathered more and more common traits, Universal Religion itself was strengthened. Spencer too examined these matters in his *First Principles* besides many others of scientific and philosophical importance, including a speculative analysis of the unknowable. *First Principles*, written about sixty years after *Tufat*, attempted to ascertain the truth in things apparently erroneous and indicated the way of finding it, as described in the following lines of *First Principles* :

This way is to compare all opinions of the same genus; to set aside as more or less discrediting one another these special and concrete elements in which such opinions disagree; to observe what remains after these have been eliminated; and to find for the remaining constituents that expression which holds true throughout its various disguises.

Spencer then went on to state that a greater degree of catholicity of feeling was necessary to maintain an impartial attitude in the assessment of antagonisms of beliefs :

In proportion as we love truth more and victory less we shall become anxious to know what it is which leads our opponents to think as they do, we shall begin to suspect that the pertinacity of belief exhibited by them must result from a perception of something we have not perceived, and we shall aim to supplement the portion of truth we have found with the portion by them. Making a rational estimate of human authority We shall lean to the more defensible position that none are completely right and none are completely wrong.

Thus we find that the position of Rammohun coincided very largely with Spencer's. Both were eclectic and both ready to accept truth wherever found. Both thought it essential to keep an impartial attitude to all opinions. Both believed that religious ideas as found to be common, could be traced to similarity in nature of all men. To Rammohun this similarity or oneness was ultimately traceable to human experiences, slowly accumulated and organised. In Spencer's analysis, no mean part was played by priests at the bottom of whose inculcations, again, were human experiences. Rammohun however did not agree fully with this view of the matter. He made a very fine analysis which is quoted below :

When we look to the traditions of ancient nations, we often find them at variance with each other, and when, discouraged by this circumstance, we appeal to reason as a surer guide, we soon find how incompetent it is, alone, to

conduct us to the object of our pursuit. We often find that, instead of facilitating our endeavours or clearing up our perplexities, it only serves to generate a universal doubt, incompatible with principles on which our comfort and happiness mainly depend.

It will be seen that Rammohun was utilising his analytical powers for evolving synthesis of religious strains while Spencer, soaring more in the realm of pure thinking, went deep to effect a reconciliation (or a synthesis to be more accurate) of religion and science. Rammohun was engaged in reshaping men on religious traditions but based on reason, whereas Spencer wanted religious traditions to conform to science, however big the demand might be. Thus Rammohun became a reformer and Spencer a sociologist. In Spencer's expectation or ideal, by which religious traditions could be made to conform to science, a greater synthesis becomes unthinkable. Turning back, it will be seen that both of them initially took a stand on the same basic position, *viz.*, the pre-eminence of individual over society and pre-eminence of reason over tradition. If Spencer's expectation is achieved, the sociologist would get submerged by the enormity of scientific problems.

Regarding priest's work, what Spencer meant was that while priestcraft as a profession is definitely not laudable to either party, still apart from individual experiences which have their own value, these experiences at times with thoughtful men, may lead to a conviction or a deeper understanding or even a sudden revelation. Instances are very rare but such experiences may lead to a kind of mysticism. Priestcraft in Hindu society is considered to be of low order and Rammohun would not even see the rare possibility of any kind of transformation. Rammohun would not even attach any value to rare experiences. All the same, Spencer's contention cannot be easily brushed aside.

Bentinck

He was the most colourful Governor-General that India had known. He played a great role in four sectors of Indian life and

played them very well : (a) Educational policy for India, (b) *Suttee* practice, (c) European colonisation in India, and (d) Provision of safeguards for easy and efficient working of the Jury System.

Regarding Educational policy, one will remember that Rammohun sent an appeal to the highest authorities, pleading earnestly for scientific and practical education instead of advanced Sanskritic education, when a big sum of money was allotted by the Government of the day. The Committee consisting of Europeans of high position produced a document recommending the latter policy. Rammohun reiterated his demand and got a strong rebuff. It was Macaulay who came 10 years after and fully endorsed the views of Rammohun—Bentinck strongly supported it. In 1835 the revised policy of adopting science education came into force, with adoption of English as the medium of instruction in place of Persian.

Regarding *Suttee* practice, Bentinck did what no ordinary man even endowed with high ideals could do. As an ardent Benthamite⁴, he carried out duties in India under an enlightened policy. As one imbued with a keen sense of Utilitarianism he might have developed fully into a philosophical radical.⁵

Regarding European colonisation in India, Bentinck was nothing better than a half-hearted advocate of it; he wrote at least one very strong and argumentative note (Bentinck's Note of May 30, 1829) against the scheme but ultimately veered round to the view that the scheme might work to some advantage if adequate adjustments of the law were carried out.

Regarding the working of the Jury System, Bentinck could well anticipate the handicaps that might arise. A heated controversy was going on between the Directors of East India Company (and Charles Wynn) and Rammohun, when Bentinck took a quick decision and promulgated Bengal Regulation VI of 1832 by which the European functionaries could avail

themselves of the assistance of respectable natives in the administration of civil and criminal justice.

Bentinck was a most determined administrator and it goes to the credit of the Home Government in London that discovered in Bentinck special talents for which he was eventually elevated to Governor-Generalship (after a lapse of twodecades). He had earlier been Governor of Madras and was recalled from his high position consequent upon Sepoys' revolt in 1806.

Emerson

To what extent the philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, the leading spirit of the Transcendental group in the United States, was influenced by Rammohun is difficult to assess, yet it is clear that Emerson was acquainted with the writings of Rammohun which did interest some people and about which published comments were also considerable.⁶ With the *Precepts of Jesus*, Rammohun's name became familiar in New England and it is strongly believed that this helped to usher in Transcendentalism. Vedanta thought had reached Emerson earlier. At the height of the Marshman-Rammohun controversy, in which the Serampore Baptist Mission was involved, the American philosophical circles had become aware of the Vedantic view. The question of Transcendentalism and Immanentism came to be seriously discussed, with the Transcendental group emerging into prominence (R.W. Emerson, Ellery Channing, W.H. Channing, D. Alcott, F.H. Hodge, J. F. Clerk, W.H. Furness, J.S. Dwight, C.F. Cranch, Elizabeth Peabody, etc. being important members).

We find indication from Emerson's letters that he referred to his aunt Mary Moody Emerson about Rammohun and the *Christian Register* wrote :

And in reading this periodical, Emerson was subject to the influence of the richest and most consistent collection of Rammohun Roy materials in America. Furthermore, if he continued to read the *Register*, as he probably did, at least until about 1830, when he broke his connection with Unitarianism, no one could have been better informed

concerning this great Hindu. Directly or indirectly through Mary Moody Emerson, the *Christian Register* may have been Emerson's first source of contact with Oriental thought, and Rammohun Roy his first inter-agent.

Then too, Emerson's student days at Harvard place him among those men in America who were most interested in Rammohun Roy and his doctrine. From 1829 to 1831 Emerson acted in the capacity of Assistant pastor in the church of the Reverend Henry Ware, one of Roy's strongest advocates in America; surely through this contact, Emerson must have become familiar with the ideas and personality of Roy.

Because the Transcendentalists were interested in orientalism, and because Rammohun Roy was interested in Christianity, the chasm between the Orient and Occident, as personified in New England, was not as great as it might otherwise have been. To the extent that Rammohun Roy was responsible for the interest in the Orient, amongst Americans in general, and amongst New Englanders in particular, to that extent was he an instrument for the formation of the ideas of Emerson and his associates, with their love of Oriental literature, philosophy and religion. (Moore : *Rammohun Roy and America*, p. 163)

So it appears that *Christian Register* was the most important source of Emerson's acquaintance with Rammohun's thought. But Emerson came to know about Rammohun more through the Rev. Henry Ware who was his strongest advocate in America and in whose church Emerson was working for a time. Rammohun thus succeeded in creating a unique position for himself not only in Britain but also among some of the enlightened men in America. No doubt, his popularity was enhanced by the high respect in which he held the ethical principles of Christianity.

.....The teachings of Jesus he preferred to all other ethical laws or standards, because he felt that they best expressed the great universal principles of religion. But after he

became involved in petty religious disputes, after he had the opportunity of seeing how ineffectual the ethics and morals of the Christian religions were in western society, he turned from organised Christianity (A. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 164).

Robert Owen

It is surmised that Bentham suggested a meeting between Rammohun and Robert Owen (1771-1858) who by then had acquired a reputation as a pioneer in cooperative movement because of his new mode of factory management on socialist lines. On the question of religion, their discussion led to some heat and Owen, who went beyond a point, lost his temper. Feeling unhappy on coming back home Rammohun, next day, called again on Owen but unable to meet him, wrote a letter addressed to his son, Dale Owen. The letter is interesting because it shows that Rammohun was not only courteous but easily responsive and he was well acquainted with the philosophical position of Locke and Newton. The letter runs :

Not having been sufficiently fortunate yesterday to find you or any of your friends at home I feel induced to make one or two remarks in writing to which, from what I have heard from you on Tuesday night, I think you will agree. They are as follows : It is not necessary either in England or in America, to oppose religion in promoting the social, domestic and political welfare of their inhabitants particularly a system of religion which inculcates the doctrine of Universal love and charity. Did such philanthropists as Locke or Newton oppose religion ? No ! They rather tried to remove the perversions gradually introduced in religions. Admitting for a moment that the truth of the Divinity or religion cannot be established to the satisfaction of a free thinker, but from an impartial enquiry, I presume we may feel persuaded to believe that a system of religion (Christianity) which consists in love and charity is capable of furthering our happiness, facilitating our reciprocal transactions and curbing our obnoxious suspicions and feelings. I grieve to observe that by opposing religion your most benevolent father has hitherto impeded his success.

He, I seriously believe, is a follower of Christianity in the above sense though he is not aware of being so. Allow me to send Hamilton's *East Indies* (Vol. I) in which you will find, page 35 line 36, that more than two thousand years ago wise and pious Brahmans of India entertained almost the same opinions which your father offers though they by no means were destitute of religion.

My desire to see you and your father crowned with success in your benevolent undertakings, has emboldened me to make these observations, a freedom which I hope, you will, in consideration of my motives, excuse. With my best compliments to your father and kind regards to Mrs. Owen, and Miss Owen, I remain with my best wishes.....

P.S. I am now troubled with a strong attack of influenza, which prevents me from sitting for a few minutes or writing a few lines. R.R. (from the following address : 48 Bedford Square, April 19, 1833).

Charles Grant (Jr.)

The Jury (Wynn's) Act was passed in November, 1826 and came into operation at the beginning of 1827. Rammohun turned his attention to the flagrant injustice of the Act. He clearly brought out before the public the invidious distinction made on grounds of religion. In August 1828 he wrote a covering letter to Mr. Crawford while forwarding the Calcutta Citizens' petition of November 1826 with a few hundred signatures. It took more than two years for Wynn to prepare his case for presentation of the petition to Parliament and it was placed before the House of Commons in June 1829. Other petitions were presented to the House of Commons in September 1831. Grant then took up the petition of Rammohun and others and wanted the Court of Directors of the E. I. Company to report to him on the subject matter of the Bill to which strong objections had been raised by both the Hindus and Muslims. In December 1831, the Court of Directors communicated their objections to the proposed Bill. Rammohun had reached England by then and prevailed upon Hon'ble Charles Grant to

get it passed ignoring their objections. Thus Wynn's Jury Act of 1826 was superseded by Grant's Jury Act of 1832.

Charles Grant was the son of the famous Charles Grant (a very close associate of Wilberforce) who lived in Bengal for a long time from the late sixties of 18th Century and who, it will be remembered, was a great conservative who opposed India's independent growth and wanted it to grow under the British. He died in England in 1823. Junior Charles appreciated Rammohun much.

After a great agitation, particularly in Bengal and Bombay, Rammohun won his objectives. Thus "it is not perhaps difficult to visualise even at this distant time what a day of jubilation it must have been to our countrymen when one of their highest ambitions came to be fulfilled and they were raised in their status and respectability by equalising themselves with the rulers of the country in regard not only to civil but to criminal jurisprudence as well", (*i. e.* acquiring full rights not only to sit on all juries but to be appointed justices of peace as well)

Charles Wynn

Rammohun came to England and found Charles Wynn (with a knighthood) had become a member of Parliament. Rammohun however, found him now helpful in many matters and in 1832, he wrote to him to enquire if it was possible for Rammohun himself to become a member of Parliament, since that would help reforms for India. Rammohun, then staying at 18 Bedford Square, wrote :

Rajah Rammohun Roy presents his compliments to the Right Honourable Charles William Wynn and finding by the interview in the House of Lords on Friday evening that he is not out of Mr. Wynn's remembrance, R.R. begs leave to revert to a remark made by Mr. Wynn at the dinner of the Royal Asiatic Society last year, at which R.R. had first the honour of meeting him namely that of "R.R. being as much a British subject as any gentleman present"; or words to that effect. From the high opinion R.R. entertains

of Wynn's constitutional bearing, he feels a wish to know from him, confidentially, whether in Mr. Wynn's opinion R.R. is eligible to sit in Parliament. He begs to add that it is not from any ambition to assume so arduous an office but from a desire to pave the way for his countrymen, for which object R.R. might, for a few months, undertake the task. R.R. therefore hopes that Mr. Wynn will excuse this freedom and should he feel himself perfectly at liberty to express an opinion on the subject he will confer on R.R. a high obligation.

To this Sir Charles Wynn replied :

April 19, 1832.

Dear Sir,

It is not to my power to express an opinion on the subject of your capacity to sit in Parliament without information on many particulars, of which I am ignorant, such as the place of your birth, and the nature of its subjection to the British Government at that time. But I conceive generally that any person born within the British dominions, is a British subject and as such is here entitled to all the privileges of a native of Great Britain.

(Text of the first of the above letters has been supplied by S.N. Sen, formerly of British Museum, who was very intimate with the Wynn family in London; the second letter has been taken from *Modern Review* of October 1939.)

Rammohun thereupon wrote again to Wynn :

I beg you will accept my warm acknowledgments for your obliging compliance with the request conveyed in my late communication. I will seriously reflect on the purport of your letter and shall not fail to communicate the result, if I can come to any determination on the subject.

As you feel a lively interest in the welfare of India, I beg to present Judicial and Revenue system with a brief History of the country and an appendix of which I beg your acceptance.

Buckingham

John Silk Buckingham had a colourful history. He was an Englishman who came to Calcutta about 1818 and became the Editor of *Calcutta Journal* which grew into a journal of repute in his hands. As early as 1813, Buckingham had been in contact with the Pasha of Egypt and, at his desire, he had retraced the old canal across the isthmus of Suez for the purpose of making a navigable passage half a century before the Frenchman Lesseps. But since funds did not permit this he was deputed by the Pasha to purchase ships to open up trade between India and Egypt. The project somehow aroused the suspicion of the East India Company and so, within a short time, he found himself deported out of India. He went back to Egypt and having in the meantime picked up the Arabic language he donned the garb of a Turk, travelled through Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia and in 1818 arrived in India again, unrecognised. It was then that he started the *Calcutta Journal* (during the administration of Lord Hastings) and soon made a name as a fearless journalist. He got help from other Englishmen of ability but the bulk of his compatriots developed a dislike for him. At one stage Buckingham made a severe attack on the appointment of the Scottish Chaplain Bryce as clerk of the Government stationery. Unfortunately, this happened to be during the governor-generalship of John Adam who was officiating in that capacity. John Adam swooped down upon Buckingham, got him arrested and in a day's time put him into a ship which, passing via China, brought him back to England. All his property in India was confiscated. But on arrival in London Buckingham started an active agitation against the Company and also against John Adam. He launched a newspaper *Oriental Herald*, became a member of Parliament in 1852 and eventually succeeded in extracting a good pension from the Company.

Buckingham was a great admirer of Rammohun; they worked together in different fields of social reform in India. Rammohun's important Bengali articles used to appear in *Calcutta Journal* in the English version. Their collaboration was a source of strength to both. A man of Buckingham's abilities and make-up would have been a great asset to any country any

time. Rammohun wrote equally strongly but he was never threatened with persecution for the simple reason that the Government did not want an Englishman of Buckingham's type in India.

Buckingham's *Calcutta Journal* thus gone, *John Bull* came in its place in 1821 though as a supporter of the Tory Government and the Company, but it began to earn unpopularity because of views on certain matters relating to the Army. *John Bull* soon passed into the hands of one Stocqueler who, taking some financial help from Raja Dwarkanath Tagore, bought it up and named it the *Englishman*.

David Hare

David Hare, the unostentatious bachelor, with no high education and no high social status, by profession a watch-maker, became a household name in Calcutta. His love of education, his self-sacrifice and charities made every family in Bengal accept him as its own. We see him, probably for the first time, in Rammohun's Atmiya Sabha, where, when the question of religious and social reform came up, Hare laid emphasis on education and suggested that instead of religious centres, centres for general education be opened. Rammohun agreed and Hindu School (later college) was started though both Rammohun and David Hare were soon out of it, being persona non-grata in their respective communities. But in course of time, the school authorities had to approach David Hare for a plot of land on one side of College Square on which new Hindu College and Hare School stand. The irony is that the very Hindu School which refused to associate David Hare in its management, had eventually to approach him for financial assistance when the school found itself in distress. David Hare immediately came to its rescue. In his name stands Hare School which is an amalgamation of several schools started by him at different places in Calcutta. He was a good friend of Rammohun, but except for education there was hardly any other point of contact between the two. In his London days at Bedford Square, David Hare's brothers, John and James, and his sister gave Rammohun all comforts and nursing which he badly needed then.

Digby, Woodford

Rammohun did not return from his North Indian (Kashi) stay before 1803. His reported meeting with Digby in 1801 seems therefore to be without any foundation. From Kashi he could not have come to Calcutta for meeting him. In 1803 he started working under Woodford. In 1805 Digby became Registrar of the office of the Magistrate of Ramgarh and Rammohun was appointed his private Munsif.

It was Digby's deep friendship, though Rammohun at the beginning was only his employee for helping him in office work, which gave Rammohun large opportunities from 1803 of getting acquainted with English and European books, in literature and current developments. Here Rammohun got also the chance to practise English conversation (he started learning English at the age of 22/23 around 1796-97). Digby had the reputation of being a hardworking and honest civilian. He began to admire Rammohun's wide outlook and stern character. But because of his efforts to weed out malpractices among court employees and to clean up the administration, Digby soon found himself thrown into all kinds of trouble. His health deteriorated and he had to take leave to return to England. On one occasion, in 1814-15, his stay in England was for a considerable time. Here around 1817, he helped in the publication in London of Rammohun's Upanishad translations. When in 1823 his health deteriorated seriously he proceeded to England for recuperation but on his way, in 1824, he died at the Cape of Good Hope.

Alexander Duff

It was towards the end of 1830 that Alexander Duff (1806-1878) came to India, having been sent by General Assembly of the Churches of Scotland on a reference from Rammohun. For some time past, Rammohun's relations with the Baptist Mission had been getting more and more strained and he had approached the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to send out to India some good men to carry out educational scheme. Alexander Duff, fortunately, arrived before Rammohun left on his journey for England. Their meeting took place in all cordiality. Rammohun was impressed by Duff's enthusiasm and

by the programme of work which he explained to him. His biographer Smith writes :

Having listened to the young Scotman's statement of his plans, Rammohun Roy expressed general approval. All true education, the reformer emphatically declared, ought to be religious since the object was not merely to give information, but to develop and regulate all the powers of the mind, the emotions, and the workings of the conscience . a day was fixed for the public opening of the school, at 10 a.m. when Rammohun was present to explain difficulties and especially to remove the prejudice against the Bible. The eventful day was the 13th of July, 1830.

Mr. Duff was ready. Standing up with Rammohun Roy, while all the lads showed the same respect as their own Raja, the Christian Missionary prayed the Lord's prayer slowly in Bengali . . . Himself putting a copy of the Gospels into their hands, the missionary requested some of the older pupils to read. There was murmuring ..this is the Christian Sastra, we are not Christians, it may make us Christians .. Now was the time for Rammohun Roy, who explained to his young countrymen that they were mistaken. 'Christians like Dr. Hayman Wilson have studied the Hindu scriptures, and you know that he has not become a Hindu. I myself have read all the Koran again and again, and has that made me a Musalman ? Nay, I have studied the whole Bible, and you know I am not a Christian. Why, then, do you fear to read it ? Read and judge for yourself. Not compulsion, but enlightened persuasion which you may resist if you choose.' Most of the remonstrants seemed satisfied. Daily for the next month did the Hindu reformer visit the school at ten for the Bible lesson, and frequently thereafter till he left for England, when his eldest son (Radhaprosad Roy) continued to encourage the boys by his presence and their teachers by friendly counsel.

But in the 4-5 months that they were together, it became clear how bitterly Duff disliked Hinduism. Duff felt convinced that Derozio was giving the young Bengalis a wrong lead by

stressing on scepticism—even atheism. Duff's endeavours were to divert their minds to theism and specially to Christian culture. Duff's aggressive attitude towards Hinduism began to show as conversion work (into Christianity) spread in the Hindu community and hence conflicts grew with the leaders of Hindu society, Debendranath Tagore in particular. The conversion of Krishnamohan Banerjee, Gopinath Nandy and Mahesh Chandra Ghose by Alexander Duff marked the prelude to this conflict. An interesting side-effect of this, it may be mentioned, was that Duff's repudiation of the infallibility claimed for the Vedas was responsible for Debendranath's sending a few scholars to Benares to study the Vedas and make a correct evaluation of them. When they returned, they presented their findings and Debendranath himself changed to some extent. He gave up his belief in the infallibility of the Vedas, although he continued to uphold its prestige and regarded it as containing some of the highest thoughts of Man.

Rev. William Adam

Rammohun, the Rev. Adam and the Rev. Yates were collaborators in the translation of the Bible into Bengali. Yates fell out on the question of interpretations and came out of the joint work. It was at this time, around 1825, that Adam became a Unitarian under the influence of Rammohun. There grew an intimate friendship between the two. Unlike Digby who was an able and honest civilian, without any special intellectual distinction, Adam was an intellectual comrade and their common faith made their relations closer and, later, intimate. From 1826 to 1828 both Rammohun and Adam were struggling hard to make Unitarianism more popular and bring under one association Hindus as well as Christians. But even the strenuous efforts of Adam failed to draw a response from his listeners and Rammohun saw all this. There came a gloom and it looked at one time that Rammohun would no more be able to bear this discomfiture. This deep setback so unnerved him that for once in his life he lost his mental balance. His treatment of Adam became distinctly rude. Adam however cooperated with him until the last. Adam later came out with a suggestion that, perhaps, something could still be

salvaged if an appeal was made in the name of Hindu Unitarianism. Luckily, such an appeal did work. And as time went on the response became warmer. It gained popularity under Hindu Unitarian Association. Rammohun, suppressing his feeling of disappointment in not being able to bring into existence one common Unitarian Association, felt compensated by this success under the sign of Hindu Unitarianism. Being a practical man Rammohun could reconcile himself to this deviation but to Adam it came as a rude shock at the descent from his high ideal. Since Hindu Unitarianism obtained popularity, Adam also gradually realised the force of human nature and accepted the situation.

Rev. Adam, who was himself a good scholar of Bengali and had high regard for Rammohun's role in developing the language, continued his links with him. Even while in the United States in 1838 he said in a speech :

No one saw more distinctly than Rammohun Roy the importance of cultivating the vernacular language of his countrymen as the most effectual medium of conveying instruction to them, and influencing their sentiments, principles and conduct; and in consequence all his most important controversial writings have appeared not only in Sanskrit for the information of the learned and in English for the information of foreigners, but in Bengali also, that the body of the people might be enlightened. In this, he showed the just and accurate view which he took of the means of influencing the minds of a whole people and his superiority to the prejudices of his learned countrymen who disdain to compose their works, except in Sanskrit, and look down upon their mother-tongue with contempt as unworthy to be employed for the communication of knowledge.

Rammohun Roy's writings in Bengali are models of composition a necessary effect of his comprehensive and logical mind, and correct and manly taste. It was not only in this indirect and accidental way that he sought to improve his native idiom, he also wrote and published a grammar of the Bengali language, which

although several grammars of that tongue have been written by Europeans, is the only one worthy of the name; and he has thus by the example he set in his own multifarious native composition, and by the theoretical rules which he has laid down in his grammar, contributed to rescue from contempt and neglect, and bring into deserved repute, a language possesssing very rich materials, spoken by twenty-five millions of human beings, and destined to be the medium of communication on all the subjects of literature and science, philosophy and religion interesting to a people in a state of progressive civilisation.

Everything William Adam said has come true. Adam at a later stage took up the work of editorship of the *Bengal Hurkaru* (Hickey's Gazette or *India Gazette* was merged in it). Adam was appointed head of a Committee to enquire into the state of education in India. He was next offered the post of secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction but he did not accept it. He published in England the *Indian Year-Book of 1841*.

Hariharanandanath Tirthaswami Kulabadhut and Ramchandra Vidyabagis

Hariharanandanath (with his brother Ramchandra Vidyabagis) belonged to the village Palpara (adjacent to Radhanagar and Langurpara). He was a Vedantist and Tantric. He met Rammohun for the first time when the latter was only 12/13 years old, a devout Hindu doing *Purashcharan* according to Hindu custom and doing a reading of Bhagavatgita before starting the day's work. It is likely that these lessons with Hariharananda developed in him a liberal attitude. They probably met again in 1794 during Rammohun's travels to Benares and thereafter for short periods. In Rangpur (1809-1815) they were together only for some time when Rammohun was translating the Upanishads. Here he might have taken Hariharananda's help on scriptural texts. His devotion deepened for doing *Brohmo Upasana* according to Tantric *Kulachar* (see the article "*Brahma Samajer Pratishthar Bibaran*")

in the *Tattwa-bodhini Patrika*). Hariharananda died at Benares in 1832.

While residing in Calcutta Rammohun once had an opportunity of meeting, along with Hariharananda who had come on court orders, his younger brother Ramchandra Vidyabagis. Rammohun put Ramchandra under Sivaprasad Sarma for training in Vedanta (he was already a scholar in Dharma-sastra and Nyaya-sastra). Ramchandra who was with Rammohun in Calcutta almost from the beginning, wrote *Jyotish Sangraha-Sar* in 1817 and the Bengali Dictionary (*Abhidhan*) in 1818. He became one of the Trustees of the Brahmo-Samaj as is evident from his signature. Sometime in 1816-1817, Rammohun was able to get Vidyabagis appointed to the Sanskrit College for teaching Smriti-sastra. There he worked for about ten years until he lost the post due to pressure from the orthodox group which was working against Rammohun Roy. In 1840, Prasanna Kumar Tagore put Ramchandra in charge of upper class boys for training in morals, and a book was published by him entitled *Niti Darshan*. Almost in the beginning of 1844 Ramchandra initiated Debendranath a month after he was installed as Acharya of the Brahmo Samaj. He died in 1845.

Max Muller

Max Muller (1823-1900) was only ten years old when Rammohun died, yet he must have become acquainted with Rammohun's English writings, his translation of the Upanishads, while launching on his own translation of the *Sacred Books of the East*. Max Muller acknowledged :

For the sake of intellectual intercourse, for the sake of comparing notes, so to say, with his Aryan brothers, Rammohun was the first who came East to West, the first to join hands and to complete that world-wide circle through which henceforth, like an electric current, Oriental thought could run to the West, and Western thought return to the East, making us feel once more that ancient brotherhood which unites the whole Aryan race, inspiring us with new hopes for

a common faith, purer and simpler than any of the ecclesiastical religions of the world, and invigorating us for acts inscribed in the chronicles of our divided past.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Note 1 : Letter from Bentham to Rammohun Roy

Intensely admired and dearly beloved collaborator in the service of mankind :

Your character is made known to me by our excellent friends, Colonel Young, Colonel Stanhope and Mr. Buckingham. Your works by a book in which I read a style which but for the name of a Hindu, I should have ascribed to the pen of a superiorly well-educated and instructed Englishman. A just now published work of mine, which I send by favour of Mrs. Young, exhibits my view of the foundations of human belief, specially applied to the practice of this country in matters of law.

Now at the brink of the grave (for I want but a month or two of four score), among the most delightful of my reflections, is the hope, I am notwithstanding feeding myself with, of rendering my labours of some considerable use to the hundred millions, or thereabouts, of whom I understand that part of your population which is under English governance or influence is composed.

With Mr. Mill's work on British India you can scarcely fail to be more or less acquainted. For these three or four twenty years he has numbered himself among my disciples, for upwards of twenty years he has been receiving my instructions; for about the half of each of five years, he and his family have been my guests. If not adequately known already, his situation in the East India Company's service can be explained to you by Colonel Young. My papers and Evidence—those papers which you now see in print,—were in his hands, and read through by him, while occupied in his above-noticed great work; a work from which more practically applicable information on the subject of government and policy may be derived (I think I can venture to say) than from any other as yet extant, though as to

style I wish I could, with truth and sincerity, pronounce it equal to yours.

For these many years a grand object of his ambition has been to provide for British India, in the room of the abominable existing system, a good system of judicial procedure, with a judicial establishment adequate to the administration of it; and for the composition of it, his reliance has all along been, and continues to be, on me. What I have written on these subjects wants little of being complete; so little that, were I to die to-morrow, there are those that would be able to put it in order and carry it through the press.

What he aimed at above all things is, the giving stability and security to landed property in the hands of the greatest number throughout British India; and for this purpose, to ascertain by judicial inquiry, the state of the customs of the people in that respect. For this same purpose, a great increase in the number of judicatories, together with the oral examination of all parties concerned and a recordation of the result will be absolutely necessary; the mode of proceeding as simple as possible, unexpensive and prompt, forming in these respects as complete a contrast as possible with the abominable system of the great Calcutta Judicatory; nations of unmixed blood and half-caste, both of whom could serve on moderate salaries, being, on my system, as much employed as possible. Though but very lately known to your new Governor-General Mr. Mill is in high favour with him; and (I have reason to believe will have a good deal of influence, which in that case, he will employ for the purpose above mentioned.

He has assured his lordship that there can be no penal judicature without an apt prison-management; and no apt prison or prison-management without the plan which we call the panopticon plan,.. an account of which is in a work of mine, a copy of which, if I can find one, will accompany this letter. At any rate Colonel Young can explain it to you with the cause why it was not, five and fifty years ago, established here; and all the prisoners as well as all the paupers of England, put eye of the keepers, and the keepers, as well as they, under

the eye of as many people as do not grudge the trouble of walking up a few steps for the purpose.

For I know not how many years...a dozen or fifteen perhaps. I have never paid a single visit to any body, except during about three months when a complaint I was troubled with forced me to bathing places, and at length to Paris. Thus it is that Lord William and I have never come together; and now there is no time enough. Half-jest, half-earnest, Mr. Mill promised him a meeting with me on his return from India; for old as I am, I am in good health and spirits, and have as yet lost but little of the very little strength I had in my youth. Though the influence of my writing is said to be something of anything that can be called power I have not had any the least atom. I have some reason for expecting that, ere long, more or less use will be made of my work on Judicial Procedure by Government here. But, from the influence possessed by Mill and the intense anxiety he has been manifesting for some years past for the completion of it, my hopes have in relation to your country been rather sanguine. Of the characters, of it I cannot find to say anything, except that by the regard shown in it to the interests of the subject many, and by its simplicity, which I have endeavoured to maximise, I have little fear of its not recommending itself to your affections.

What regards the Judiciary Establishment, will form about half of the second of two volumes, a copy of the first of which (with exception of six introductory parts) being already in print, as designed to form part of the contents of this packet.

While writing, it has occurred to me to add a copy of a work called Panopticon; the rather because, at the desire of Mr. Mill, it is in the hand of your Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, to whom Mr. Mill has been recommending and, as he flatters himself, not altogether without success, the erection of a place of confinement, upon the principles there in displayed. More than thirty years ago, but for a personal pique taken against me by the late King, George, the Third, all the prisoners in the Kingdom and all the paupers would under my care, have been provided for by me upon the same principle. To the Prime Minister of the time (from 1792-1802)

with his colleagues, it was an object of enthusiastic and preserving admiration; and not only was an act of the Legislature, which (you know) could not have been enacted without the King's consent, obtained for the purpose, but so much as related to the experimental prison carried into effect as the purchase of a large spot of ground for the purpose, and the greatest part put into my possession; but when the last step came to be taken, George the Third could not be prevailed upon to take it; and so the affair ended.

In my Codification Proposal, you will see letter for Del Valle of Guatemala alias Central America, in late Spanish America. He is the instructor of his country, such an one as you of yours. I thus mention him to you. I shall mention you to him. Several papers he has sent me have made known to me his history, his occupations, and his designs. I hear him spoken of, from various quarters, as by far the most esteemed man that late Spanish America has produced. If there be anything that you could like to transmit to him, it would be a sincere pleasure to me to receive it, and transmit it to him accordingly. Yours and his are kindred souls. Though in his country highest in estimation, it is still uncertain whether he is so in power, there being another man whose party is at war with that to which Del Valle wishes best; but as far as I can learn, that of Del Valle is most likely to be ultimately prevailing.

Bowring with whom you have corresponded, is now living with me. He is the most intimate friend I have; the most influential, as well as ardent man I know in the endeavour at everything that is most serviceable to mankind.

Farewell, illustrious friend ! You may imagine from what is above, with what pleasure I should hear from you. Information from you might perhaps be made of use with reference to the above objects. But you should, in that case, send me two letters..... one confidential, another ostensible. If I live seven days longer, I shall be fourscore. To make provision for the event of my death, you should do by your letters to me, as Colonel Young has done by his : send it open, enclosed in one to Bowring.

We have high hopes of Lord William's good intentions : so much better than from so high aristocratical family as his could have been expected. I have been asking our common friends here, over and over again, for their assurance that there is some chance of your paying a visit to this strange country I can get little better from them than a shake of the head.

P.S. Panopticon. Should this plan and the reasoning meet your approbation, you will see that none of the business as to which it is applicable, could be carried on well otherwise than by contract. What say you to the making singly or in conjunction with other enlightened philanthropists, an offer to Government for that purpose ? Professors of all religions might join in the contract; and appropriate classification and separation for the persons under management : provision correspondent to their several religions, and their respective castes; or other allocations under their respective religions. How it would delight me to see you and Colonel Young engaged in a partnership for a purpose of that sort.

Note 2 : Letter from William Roscoe to Rammohun Roy

Although I have not the honour of being known to you, I am no stranger to your writings, nor to the uniform and noble manner in which you have asserted the case of true and genuine Christianity, against the sophisms and absurdities of those who would persuade us that they are the only object of the benevolence of the great Creator and Common Father of all His off-spring. It seems strange even to myself that so long a time has elapsed, in which I have been aware how nearly my opinions on religious subjects have agreed with your own, without introducing myself to your acquaintance. The fact is, that within the first twenty years of a life which is now verging on its seventy-eighth year, I have devoted myself to the task of forming, as far as possible, a complete code of moral conduct from the precepts of Jesus Christ as given in the *New Testament*, in his own words, in which I made a considerable progress; and circumstances prevented my completing it, yet the

impression which the attempt made on my mind convinced me, that true Christianity consists alone in doing the will of our Father which is in heaven, which will is not only sufficiently, but most powerfully and beautifully enforced in that sacred volume.

In my riper years as the affairs of the world engaged my attention, I have been employed on most of the great subjects of human interest, and have written and published on politics, jurisprudence, history, criticism, science, and literature, according to the measure of my abilities, and with the consciousness, in whatever department I have been engaged, of having prompted, to the best of my power, the improvement and happiness of my fellow-creatures.

Some of these works I would even flatter myself may, perhaps, have occurred to your notice, but at all events, that I may not suffer the little that remains to me of this life to pass away without being better known to you, and having at present a favourable opportunity of sending you a few volumes on various subjects that may give you a tolerable idea how I have been employed, I have made a specimen of my writings, which I have to desire, you will accept as the gift of one friend to another; in order that, if that should be received in the same spirit in which they are sent, they may in fact diminish the barrier which Providence has placed between us, and introduce us to the society of each other, to be united, future lives, as true and faithful followers of our common Master.

The opportunity to which I have above alluded is that of a your friend who is about to depart from hence on a voyage to Calcutta, where it is his intention to take up his residence in a mercantile capacity, and who is desirous of an introduction to you, for the freedom of which I must trust myself to your indulgence.

We have, for some time past, been flattered with hopes of seeing you in this kingdom, but I fear I am not destined to have that pleasure. At all events it will be a great gratification to me if I should survive the attacks of the paralytic complaint, under

which I have now laboured for some years, till I hear that you have received this very sincere mark of the deep respect and attachment which I have so long entertained for you, and which I hope to renew in a happier state of being.

	I am, my dear Sir:
To the celebrated and learned	your assured friend and fellow-
Rammohun Roy, Calcutta.	Christian W.R.

NOTES

1. In Vedanta, the fountainhead of all concepts under Hinduism, the core is the unity of Godhead.
2. Bentham (1748-1832), Malthus (1764-1834). Wilberforce (1757-1833), James Mill (1773-1836), John Stuart Mill (1806-1875), Darwin (1809-1882). Marx (1818-1883), Max Muller (1823-1900).
3. Roscoe (1753-1831), Jefferson (1743-1826), Channing (1780-1842).
4. When Bentinck said "I am going to British India but I shall not be Governor General, it is you who will be Governor General.....", he referred, Rosselli thinks, to James Mill. But Mill was merely an interpreter and Bentinck, by that sentence, must have meant the originator of the idea, i.e., Bentham.
5. "The Philosophical Radicals were a transitional school. Their system gave birth to two others...viz. Darwinism and Socialism. Darwinism was an application to the whole of animal and vegetable life of Malthus' theory of population which was an integral part of the politics and economics of the Benthamites...a global free competition in which victory went to the animals that most resemble successful capitalist..... In orthodox economics, free competition is not really fully free...in Darwin's theory, competition is really free." (Bertrand Russell. History of Western Philosophy : p. 746.)
6. Some twentyfive American publications containing comments on Rammohun Roy between 1818 and 1840 are listed in the Bibliography of Moore's essay. *The Christian Register* (founded at Boston in 1821) alone contained over one hundred references between 1821 and 1830; many of these were articles of some length, several running into as many as eight columns, and about fifteen were front page articles. By reason of their extensive circulation these twentyfive publications collectively carried the word of Rammohun to many parts of the United States.

Rammohun as a Man

A FULL evaluation of Rammohun as a man¹ will remain incomplete even on taking into account his mental, physical and emotional qualities, for he had a personality which played a very important part in all matters. Undoubtedly one would be much impressed by recounting the events and happenings in his life which brought to focus his kindness and nobility, catholicity, decency and decorum, sense of prestige, sympathy for the distressed, conviction, simplicity and fearlessness.

Rammohun showed his noble heart when he excused his nephew Govindaprasad (Jugmohun's son) who dragged him into litigations. Govindaprasad was instigated by Rammohun's mother who wanted to punish her son for his apostasy. Govindaprasad was also supported, apart from his desire for financial gains, by other parties : by some people who felt cornered by being put at a disadvantage by Rammohun's position in the courts and elsewhere, by others including Europeans who took the view that in their religious beliefs Rammohun was an intruder by what he wrote about Christianity. Rammohun's kindness to Govindaprasad went further for he got him appointed in the offices of the East India Company. And Rajaram (reared by Rammohun from childhood to youth) was another instance of Rammohun's kind heart. Rajaram was an orphan boy handed over to Rammohun by one Mr. Dick (East India Company's civilian) for bringing him up. His

kindness became more intense as the boy fully responded and also followed Rammohun's mode of living.

Rammohun's catholicity of heart is evident for, in spite of his own strong views he allowed his son Radhaprasad to grow in his own ways and never put any pressure to change them; Rammohun did not interfere even when Radhaprasad showed indifference or opposition to his father's convictions. The available record, however, indicate that as Radhaprasad grew in years he began to realise his father's high ideals, catholic and progressive views. Rammohun also showed more and more attachment for Radhaprasad, as will be evident from the serious attention he gave to bring his son out of the litigations into which he was dragged wrongly, according to Rammohun. He passed through an unusual mental depression caused by these forced involvements as he was convinced that these² were clear cases of conspiracy between some corrupt men working in the courts and some fairly-high officers both European and Indian.

An instance of Rammohun's decency and decorum as recorded below by a young lady of London society may be narrated here since it took place in her own house :

At a small evening party at my house in Grenville Street, principally to met the Rajah, he referred to the doctrine of original sin, in a way that startled a lady of low church, a very charming and amiable woman, who had brought her daughter, 'But surely Sir', she exclaimed, 'you do believe in original sin ? He looked at her, and she blushed deeply. After a minute, he seemed to comprehend the whole, and very gently inclining, he said, 'I believe it is a doctrine, which, in many well-regulated minds has tended to promote humility, the first of Christian virtues : for my own part I have never been able to see the evidence of it.' The next morning my sweet friend called to apologise for what she had said, and added that she had never seen or heard anything so beautiful as this in society.

Another such instance of decency and courtesy deserves notice for it extended to even his family members. From what

Hemalata Devi (the great grand-daughter of Rammohun who married into the Jorasanko Tagore family) had heard, she wrote the following :

Three chairs used to be placed, two for the wives and one for himself. Rajah would not sit until the wives were seated. In that again, it was a curious sight, the attendants and other domestic inmates used to peep through windows and used to whisper pointing at them and saying "Look, look, the Karta-Dewanji is standing and would not sit until the ladies took their seats. (See *Appendix VI*)

Rammohun was a straight-forward and fearless man and he did not hesitate to assert his rights as a citizen where necessary. The Bhagalpur (Bihar) incident of 1809 is a clear instance of this. He was then hardly known outside Bengal and yet had the courage not to let go unchallenged the insolence of a high official of the ruling class, a senior civilian who happened to be the District Magistrate of Bhagalpur.

Rammohun's sense of prestige was evident from what has come down to us as his tacit understanding with Digby and Woodford that he would not be treated as an ordinary subordinate and that he would not be kept standing, specially before officials. This understanding was well observed, as there grew a deep mutual respect between them which developed into intimate friendship. As Rammohun worked with Digby for a much longer period, Digby became more intimate with him and after Digby's death, his relations with Woodford family deepened.

Another remarkable story about Rammohun's sense of prestige and self-respect which is still current is that when Lord Bentinck was going to take the final decision about stopping the *Suttee* practice, he sent his secretary to Rammohun for the latter to see him. As the story goes, when the secretary told Rammohun, "His Excellency the Governor-General Lord Bentinck has desired you to meet him in the Government House", Rammohun reacted sharply and said gingerly : "I have now given up all worldly avocations and am engaged

in religious and cultural work and thought. Kindly express my humble respects to the Governor-General and inform him that I have no inclination to appear before his august presence and therefore I hope that he will kindly pardon me." When the secretary reported this to Lord Bentinck, the latter asked : "What exactly did you say to Rammohun ?" On hearing what had happened Bentinck understood and told the secretary : "Please go again and tell him that Mr. William Bentinck would be glad to see him." On hearing this, Rammohun relented and got ready to go. This may be an apocryphical version but brings out the sense of dignity of the man and also Bentinck's greatness.

That Rammohun was true to his conviction would be evident from what took place at his last meetings with his mother just prior to her departure for Srikhetra (Puri). Both of them stood on their respective grounds. His mother asked for financial endowment for the maintenance of the family-deity but Rammohun declined to support this practice, though he offered her monetary donation for the service of the poor and the distressed. His mother was not interested in this and she rejected the offer sternly. One other occasion which again showed his strength of conviction was his dissociation from the solemnisation of the marriage of his grand-daughter (Radhaprasad's daughter Chandrajyoti,) because the ceremony was done according to strict Hindu rites with *Salgram-sila* a stone representing the deity. Rammohun who was ex-communicated in his village abstained from witnessing the marriage in such a form but he did not choose to interfere either with Radhaprasad's or his wife's inner conviction. Radhaprasad's daughter Chandrajyoti later described³ her marriage in writing.

In a case of public importance, his boldness was shown in his public protest against the suppression of Press liberty. How deep was the impression that was created in England by his famous representation to the King of England has been recorded as below in Turton's speech on the first anniversary of death of Rammohun Roy : -

A very short time after my arrival in this country, an Act was passed by the Govt. which met with the general reprobation of those who were governed; but no one came forward with the manliness and boldness that Rammohun did to express his sentiments on the odious measures. A man born and bred in Britain could not have come forward more completely heart and soul in support of that which was the cause of his country, than Rammohun did in 1823. I then made his acquaintance in the first instance and was surprised, delighted to see an inordinate love of liberty in a man reared and bred in the spirit of dependence, if dependence could exist in such a mind; — I should deem this the happiest and proudest moment of my life.

In this connection, Rammohun asked Prince Dwarkanath Tagore to obtain signatures for the above protest, but the latter having failed, stated :

.. .But none of the natives could I prevail upon to join me and I believe it was thought, I should be hanged the next day for my boldness.

Rammohun's dignified bearing and power of restraint, even under the worst provocation, were shown in the case of Baptist Missionaries' attack on Hindu scriptures or the polemical discussions on *Precepts of Jesus*. Rammohun controlled himself and kept his temper cool when he was called a "heathen". This restraint was praiseworthy. In a combat of arguments in Sanskrit between Rammohun and Subrahmanya Sastri, the former showed, all along his arguments, the utmost courtesy and civility as he showed in replying to the provocative and vituperative language of, particularly, Mrityunjoy Vidyalkar who, although a learned Pandit and a highly respected man in the conservative section of the Bengalee Hindu community, allowed himself to become the mouthpiece of the arrogant and misinformed missionaries who were then trying to belittle Vedanta and Upanishads. Men like Gourisankar Bhattacharya, Bhabanicharan Bandopadhyaya and others used coarse language, offensively slang terms, and spread the most filthy calumny against Rammohun. Still, Rammohun was cool in his replies.

Rammohun's philanthropy and large-heartedness were well-known. He made free distribution of books including the most valuable translations of Vedanta and Upanishads. He wanted to place before every Indian the current picture of Hindu religion as depicted in Vedanta. His financial donations extended to the Unitarian Association, Unitarian Chapel and the Unitarian Press also. His donations to the construction of Brohmo Mandir and the wide range of his humanitarian work were well-known.

An outstanding example of his simplicity was the incident recorded in Fanny Kemble's⁴ Diary on December 22, 1832 :

In the evening the play was 'Isabella', the house very full; I played very well. The Rajah Rammohun Roy was in the Duke of Devonshire's box, and went into fits of crying, poor man.

"Isabella", above quoted, could not have been a play. It is very likely that Isabella was the character in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* who was put in very pitiable situations with two sentries on her either side. Witnessing that helpless situation, Rammohun sobbed like a child.

Rammohun's sympathy for the womenfolk⁵ of his own society is worth a special mention. The worst case was that of women who were denied education and were yet subjected to slights for lack of it. This impelled him to agitate actively to secure for them proper education so that they could acquire the capacity to manage their husbands' property after their death. Also widows' legitimate shares of their husbands' property were ably discussed by Rammohun in separate tracts.⁶

Rammohun's Intellectual Acquisitions

Rammohun's extensive knowledge of history, literature, philosophy, science, explorations, commerce of different nations and Christian scriptures in particular, was acquired by being in constant touch with Digby's collection of books which contained the Works of Gibbon, Hume, & Voltaire, Bruce's *Annals*, Anderson's *History of Commerce* (in McPherson's *Annals*), Sir Thomas Roe's *Journal and Letters*, Raynal's *East and West Indies*, Orme's

Historical Fragments, Dow's History, Malcolm's Sketch of the Political History of India and Central India, Mill's History of British India, etc. Rammohun's wide range of studies has been stressed by Nag and Burman in their Preface to *The Precepts of Jesus* :

Rammohun startled his contemporaries by his voluminous writings on Christian theology and by showing his capacity to handle effectively not only the English Bible but the Latin Vulgate or the New Testament as translated by St. Jerome (331-420 A.D.) who left Rome and completed the Latin translation of the New Testament in Bethlehem, the native village of Jesus. Trinitarian Christianity was politely reminded by Rammohun of the vast Unitarian Hebrew scripture, the Old Testament, which was translated from Hebrew into Greek and emerged as the Septuagint in the Court of Ptolemy Philadelphus to whom our Emperor Asoka sent his missionaries near about 250 B.C. Why and how did Rammohun drift away from English and Latin Bibles to tackle the Greek and the Hebrew Bibles as well is a problem of capital importance which some future holder of a Rammohun-chair of Comparative Religion should solve.

Rammohun's Study of Three Religions—Hinduism, Christianity and Islam—and Laying the Foundation of Study of Comparative Religion.

Rammohun studied the Vedas, Brohmo-sutras, Vedanta, Upanishads, Bhagwatgita, Smriti, Puranas and all systems of Hindu philosophy in order to have a full comprehension of Hindu thought in its long procession from the earliest times. He did not give much importance to the Brahmanas, Samhitas and the Puranas, but stressed the Upanishads of which the five important Vedic Upanishads (Upanishads whose origin is traceable to the Vedas) he himself translated.

Rammohun learnt Persian and Arabic assiduously and with their help studied Koran, Hadis and Shariat. He was well acquainted with the thoughts of the rationalists, Mutazilites,

Suffis and, it is said, with the polemic literatures of all the sixty-three schools of Muslim theology.

Rammohun studied the Bible very thoroughly. Deeply impressed by the precepts of Jesus, he commended them to his readers while rejecting miracles and the concept of the divinity of Christ. This led to controversies, with missionaries in particular. He went deeper into these with the help of Hebrew, Greek and Syriac languages, mastering a wide range of subjects including the Old Testament, New Testament, Talmud, Tarjuma and Syriac versions of the scriptures. He was acquainted also with Volney, Tom Paine among others and with the scientific strain in European thought from Bacon to Newton.

Having gone deep into the study of these major religions and having compared them, he became the first man to lay the foundation of the science of Comparative Religion. To strengthen his theological concepts, he went into the origin and development not only of the Christian dogma with special reference to the Arian, the Sebeilian and Pelagian controversies but also the movement of liberal thought and ethical rationalism in the Rabbinical writings of the first century before Christ, especially with reference to the Tarjuma of Jonathan and Hilel. The highest and the best in Semitic culture in both Hebraic and Arabic traditions went to enrich Rammohun's mind. The study of these religions, at that time, was a stupendous achievement and established, beyond doubt, Rammohun's intellectual range stamina and sympathy as well as his understanding and constructive approach, all of which have contributed to make him the builder of Modern India.

Rammohun's Efforts to improve Administration

He made extensive studies of whatever materials were available in the records and, with his experiences in different fields, wrote on the following :

1. Introduction of Indian Judicial Assessors;
2. Introduction of the System of Joint Judges;
3. Maintenance of Regular Public Registers;

4. Introduction of Trial by Jury;
5. Codification of Civil Law;
6. Codification of Criminal Law;
7. Reform in the Tenure of land;
8. Reform in the Rate of Rent;
9. Reform in the Title to land;
10. Reform in the Revenue System;
11. Improvements of the Condition of people and peasants.

Rammohun's Efforts in Finer Arts (Music)

Rammohun's poems breathe the atmosphere of devotion and they are the ontological expression of his devotional conviction and inner feelings. They do not, however, bear much literary value. His contribution was to Brohmo-Sangeet, in Bengali, probably the earliest. As a matter of fact, it will be more appropriate to take these poems as vehicles for classical music in Bengali, if these were set to classical tunes. It is not widely known that Rammohun was a lover of classical music and that he was also well acquainted with Nidhu Gupta around 1795-97 at Calcutta or Burdwan. Nidhu Gupta (1771-1828) who lived in Bihar for eighteen years was exponent of classical music particularly 'Tappa'. Rammohun took interest in knowing the musicians personally and knew the great Kali Mirza (of Gupti-para) who travelled all over northern India, learning classical music and giving demonstrations of his own. Rammohun is said to have come in contact with Kali Mirza when the latter was old. In Bengal there were, at that time, two other important masters of classical music : (1) Raghunath Roy of Burdwan who, as the court musician, having the opportunity to meet masters from other parts of India, became a leading exponent in Khayal; (2) Ramsankar Bhattacharjee⁷ of Bishnupur. According to some Rammohun, during his many visits to Burdwan, met Raghunath Roy.

Rammohun's Legal Proficiency

Rammohun's acquaintance with English and Scottish laws in certain matters shows his legal acumen. In his essay on the

Rights of Hindus over Ancestral property according to the Law of Bengal (written in 1830), he tried to bring out the differences between the Laws of legitimacy in England and Scotland and with the peculiarities of the Gavelkind tenure of Kent, showing his extensive interest. In this tract he argued with extraordinary ability against a Supreme Court decision denying to the Dayabhag father the right of free disposition of ancestral immovables. This paper was presumed to have been written by Rammohun as a comment on the judgment of Sir Hyde East to limit the power of the Hindus in respect of alienation of ancestral property. In this connection Rammohun suggested a legal maxim that what is considered immoral should be made invalid.

For any ticklish point of law, he would go into the principles behind the law to seek clarification.⁸ One feels fully justified in holding him as a jurist. His power of understanding, his quick grasp, his varied experiences and his extensive study, all contributed to his eminence in law. Whenever he was required to formulate a proposal or interpret an ambiguity, he invariably did so in a progressive and liberal spirit. He could be said to have been guided by the Benthamite principle—greatest good for the greatest number. Rammohun was a worthy successor to India's ancient law-givers like Jimutabahana (author of *Dayabhaga*), Vijnaneswara (author of *Mitakshara*), Raghunandan (author of *Smriti-tattwa*) and the commentators Srikrishna Tarkalankar and Jagannath.

Rammohun's Financial Stability

In 1845, long after Rammohun's death, Kisorichand Mitra wrote in the *Calcutta Gazette* an article in which he cast doubt on his rectitude by raising the question as to how he could manage to purchase big Calcutta houses and bear other expenses. This thought of illegal gratification is most unfortunate, for to quote Leonard's *History of Brahmo Samaj*, "It is no great achievement to amass by frugality and thrift, a lakh of rupees after ten year's service, the value of a depended Taluk of Rs. 10,000, when others have been known by a service of half or a quarter of that time, to have made a provision of ten times that amount."

From the details given below, it will be seen that he had an annual income of at least Rs. 18,000 which, over a period of five years (1809-1814), would have added up to an amount sufficiently large to meet costs and other expenses including charities. It may be profitable to study the financial position to see how Rammohun met such expenditures as purchase of house properties in Calcutta, defence in the litigations, donations, running expenses of the schools started by him, publication of books and tracts (and their free distribution) besides family expenses. A rough estimate of his income from various sources is given below :

			Annual Income
1.	Taluks of Govindapur Rameshwarpur	} purchased in 1799.....Rs.	5500/-
2.	„ Langurpara Srirampur Beerlok Krishnagar	} purchased about 1809 before going to Rangpur.....Rs.	6000/-
3.	Company's bond-business and money-lending business	} Rs.	5000/-
4.	Nayebship (1795 to 1798) for 4 years at father's estate say Rs. 50/- p. m. (average)...		Rs. 600/-
5.	Service with Woodford, Digby, etc. (1801-1814) for about 10 years, at say Rs. 75/- to 100/- p.m.....		Rs. 1000/-

This income over a number of years together with other cash accumulations from sale of the Jorasanko house etc., gave him sufficient resources to meet the following :

Capital cost of Chowringhee House	...	Rs. 20,000/- (roughly)
Capital cost of Simla House	...	Rs. 13,000/- (roughly)
Capital cost of Maniktala House (now at 113 Upper Circular Road)- cost not known but estimated at	...	Rs. 13,000/- (roughly)

(Jorasanko house—a gift from his father on 1-12-1796, was evidently sold out soon after he returned to Calcutta in 1815).

Rammohun as an integrated personality

As well put by Miss Collet, Rammohun was essentially a religious man devoted to the general amelioration of mankind around him. Although Rammohun was a Hindu, his heart flowed to all men irrespective of religious faith and denomination; yet being a Hindu, his first concern was to put his society and men on a higher and more rational level. He wanted social improvement for all—not only in their spiritual relation with the Supreme Being but also in relation to the State in which they lived. Thus though essentially religious, he did not exhaust himself by only discussing the scriptures and pointing out the noble concepts but supplementing them in daily life. He felt that by discarding the non-essentials, either of a religious concept or a mode of worship, men might be able to live a more useful social life bringing a greater amount of joy, more institutional activities and general happiness. This emphasis on religious life will be easily seen from Rammohun's daily routine of visiting churches, in England, of all denominations even though the then English social life did not call upon him for any help. Still Rammohun not only visited churches but also carried on endless discussions with the English churchmen. All this was due to the fact that he was entirely a religious man. And yet all his efforts were motivated by social reform.

The Three Maxims Rammohun used to follow :

1. The first, he expressed in an Arabic sentence “Insan-abid-ul-ihsan” (“Man is the slave of benefits”)
2. The second, a couplet from Anwar Suheili : “The enjoyment of two worlds (this and the next) rests on these two points—kindness to friends, civility to enemies.”
3. The third, from the philosopher Sa'di, which he often repeated and often expressed a wish to have inscribed, as the true way of serving God, on his tomb : “The good to man.”

(Sandford Arnot in *Atheneum Journal*, London, 1833)

NOTES

1. An unjustifiable pre-arranged attack of some Bengali Hindu scholars on Rammohun has been exposed in an article which is quoted in Appendix iii of this book. The eminent literary writer Parimal Goswami gives an interesting account (see *Basumati*, Calcutta, Chaitra, 1378 B.S / 1972) about how a group of well-known literary men and historians planned to tarnish the image of Rammohun (Mr. Goswami confirmed this in a recent interview with the author).
2. (i) The first case against Rammohun was filed in 1817 by Govind prasad (son of the deceased Jugmohun) in the Equity Court claiming a share in the property and earnings of Rammohun on the ground that they were living in joint family. Although they were joint in food only in all other property matters they were separate.
- (ii) Durga Devi, the surviving widow of Jugmohun (mother of Govindaprasad) brought a suit against Rammohun claiming the the taluks Govindapur and Rameswarpur. She stated that she lent Rammohun Rs. 4540 for the purchase of the taluks. Durga Devi failed to produce a single witness to prove her case. Durgadevi lost the case (Nov., 1821).
- (iii) In 1823, Raja of Burdwan claimed from Rammohun a sum of money about Rs. 15000 on the strength of a Bond given by Ramkanta on account of arrears of land revenue which was strictly due in 1797 but the Raja of Burdwan brought the suit 26 years later. The case, barred by limitation, was forced upon Rammohun (one case dismissed in 1830, one went in favour of Rammohun in 1831 and the third dismissed in 1831).
- (iv) A few brains worked together led by a notorious anonymous letter-writer Debnarain Bose, in which ultimately Radhaprasad was implicated in an alleged embezzlement from the Burdwan Treasury which was in the charge of Digby in 1822. This case ran for a considerable time with innumerable complications in which some cunning Indians, some interested Europeans, Burdwan Raj and others were implicated. The three Judges unanimously acquitted Radhaprasad by the end of 1826.
3. "The Raja arranged my marriage in Calcutta since it was not possible to go to the village for this purpose, as he was treated as if he lost his brahmanical caste—the "Sampradan" (handing over the bride in marriage) ceremony was done not by the Raja—not by Radhaprasad but by son's wife—Jagneswari Devi—at the time of this most touching and sacred ceremony of 'Samoradan', the Raja was standing outside—

away from the marriage pandal, alone and quiet. The marriage was celebrated in the usual current Hindu rites. As a result of Shyamlal Chattopadhyaya marrying Raia's grand-daughter, he could not return home in Murshidabad for fear of opposition by the village. After this marriage, Raja left for England. The Raja threw away, by the marriage, the traditional rites usually performed by the family-priest (Kulaguru) of centuries past, trained and taught the womenfolk of the home the Upasana by the Brohmo-mantra, and worship of Brohmo by Gayatri. We have heard with our own ears that Drabamoyee Devi, wife of the younger son Ramaprasad, reciting the slokas of Mahanirvan-Tantra, in invocation of Brohmo from the very early hours of the morning. She used to worship in full form by the Gayatri, that Gayatri, which at one time, was even forbidden for the women to hear, that Gayatri, was ushered in the home, within the daily worship, for the first time; the door was flung open for the rightful possession and privilege of women to perform religious practices in the sacred domain. It is difficult to think of a man in the entire human race who is endowed with the genius to fully realise and measure the greatness of this man, Raja Rammohun Roy. Words cannot measure him, his work alone can give some indication of his superhuman contribution how the world has moved in fulfilment of Rammohun's ideals."

4. Fanny Kemble (1809-93) was much impressed by Rammohun who had presented her a copy of Kalidas's *Shakuntala* (Sir William Jones' translation in 1789, which brought him praise from even Goethe). Kemble also gifted him a copy of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. She was a niece of Sarah Siddons who created a great stir in English Theatre with Garrick. She was a woman of unusual talents, intellect and versatility, being a poet, dramatist, critic, musician and actress. In March 1832 she danced at Basil Montagu's house where Rammohun was present.
5. Rammohun made forceful observations on the apathy of the people of the country to educate the womenfolk, while in contrast ordinary menfolk had the privilege and organised facilities for education. He then drew attention to the inferior treatment and in some case inhuman treatment meted out to the women and then remarked as follows :

.....How then can you accuse them with want of understanding ? If after instruction in knowledge and wisdom, a person cannot comprehend or retain what has been taught him, we may consider him as deficient ; but as you keep women generally void of education and acquirements you cannot, therefore, in justice pronounce on their inferiority. On the contrary, Lilavati, Bhanumati, the wife of the Prince of Karnat, and that of Kalidas, are celebrated for their thorough knowledge of all the shastras.....

Secondly, you charge them with want of resolution, at which I feel exceedingly surprised ; for we constantly perceive, in country where the name of death makes the male shudder, that the female, from her firmness of mind, offers to burn with the corpse of her deceased husband ; and you accuse these women of deficiency in point of resolution.

Thirdly, with regard to their trustworthiness, let us look minutely into the conduct of both sexes, and we may be enabled to ascertain which of them is the most frequently guilty of betraying friends.....

In the fourth place, with respect to their subjection to the passions, this may be judged of by the custom of marriage as to the respective sexes, for one man may marry two or three, sometimes even ten wives and upwards ; while a woman, who marries but one husband, desires at his death to follow him, forsaking all worldly enjoyments, or to remain leading the austere life as an ascetic.

6. Tracts :—(a) *Brief Remarks Regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Right of Families according to the Hindu Law of Inheritance* (1822).
 (b) *Essay on the Rights of Hindus over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal* (1832, published in England).
 (c) *With an Appendix containing letters on the Hindu Law of Inheritance*—(1832, published in England).
7. Ramsankar Bhattacharjee of Bishnupur learnt *Dhrupad* under a famous classical musician of northern India who stopped at Bishnupur on his way to Puri. It was this Ramsankar who made his own variations and established Bishnupur Gharana (tradition) in *Dhrupad* which was later on strengthened by Kshetramohon Goswami, Ramkeshab Bhattacharjee, etc. Another school of *Dhrupad* came from Benares in the mid-nineteenth century through Ganganarain Chattopadhyay whose famous disciple was Jadu Bhatta (See Dilip Kumar Mukhopadhyay : “Acharya Rammohuner Sangit Prasanga” in ‘Prabasi’ 1369, Agrahayan on wards).
8. See Rammohun Roy : Death Centenary Commemoration Volume—Article by Dr. N.C. Sengupta.

APPENDIX 1

Early Bengali Prose :

Kripa Shastrer Arthabed in Portuguese-Bengali is supposed to have been written—the Portuguese portion by Manoel and the Bengali portion by a Bengali Christian from Bhawal in Dacca—and printed presumably at Lisbon in 1743. It was written in the Roman script (Bengali characters had not then come into existence). It is a sample of missionary's Bengali some years before Carey's Bengali.

Specimen of Its Language :

Pronam Maria / Crepai purnit / Tomate Tahacur assen /
Dhormi tomi/ Kocol xtrir loquer moidh/Dhormo phol/Tomar
udore Jesus. / Xidha Maria/ poromexorer Matæ/, Zadho
amora papir caron/eqhone, ar/ Amardiguer mirtur cale./ Amen
Jesus.

Bengali Version :

প্রণাম মারিয়া/ কৃপা পূর্ণিত/ তোমাকে ঠাকুর আছেন/
ধর্মী তুমি/ সকল স্ত্রীর লোকের মধ্যে/ধর্মফল তোমার/ উদরে
জিসাস্/.....

APPENDIX 2

Later Bengali Prose :

(a) *Of Mrityunjay Vidyalankar :*

(i) “.....ইত্যাদি শাস্ত্রের দৃষ্টান্ত স্থলাভিষিক্ত তত্ত্বজ্ঞানী-
মানীদের স্বকপোলকল্পিত স্বপ্রয়োজনসিদ্ধি তাৎপর্য্যক বাক্য
প্রবন্ধ কল্পনার খণ্ডনার্থ ইহা দেখা যাইতেছে. এমত কেহ মনে
করিয়ো না। যে হেতুক বিশিষ্টানুশিষ্ট শিষ্টেদের সে কথা
লক্ষ্যই নহে তবে যে গ্রন্থ রচিত হইতেছে বিশুদ্ধ মাতাপিতৃক
অবিগীত শিষ্টেদের যদ্যপি স্ব স্বজাতি ও কুল.....”
(বেদান্ত চন্দ্রিকা গ্রন্থ)

(b) *Of Rammohun Roy :*

(ii) বেদান্ত চন্দ্রিকার উত্তরে রামমোহন যে বই (ভট্টাচার্যের
সহিত বিচার) লিখেছিলেন তার আরম্ভের অংশ : — “ভট্টাচার্য্য
আপনার গ্রন্থের প্রথম পত্রে লেখেন যে এ গ্রন্থ কোনো ব্যক্তির
কাল্পনিক বাক্যের খণ্ডনের জন্য লেখা যাইতেছে এ মত কেহ
যেন মনে না করেন কিন্তু বেদান্ত শাস্ত্রে লোকের অনাস্থা না হয়।”

(iii) রামমোহনের “সংবাদ কৌমুদীতে” চুস্কমনি সম্বন্ধে
লেখা—

“চুস্কমণির বেদ্রাভিমুখ্যরূপ যোগ তাহার অন্যান্য সকল
গুণ হইতে সম্প্রয়োজনক; যে হেতু ইহা দ্বারা নাবিকেরা পথহীন
সমুদ্রে পথনিশ্চয় করিয়া জাহাজ চালাইতে পারে। ইহার গুণ
জানিবার পূর্বে নাবিকদের তারা ভিন্ন কোনপথ নিশ্চায়ক বস্তু

ছিল না এবং সমুদ্রের তীর হইতে অনেক দূর যাইতে তাহারদের সাহস ছিল না। যাহারা পৃথিবী খনন করিয়া খাত্ত বাহির করে, তাহার পৃথিবীর মধ্যে গর্ত করিয়া অনেকদূর পর্য্যন্ত যায়.....।”

APPENDIX 3

Attempts to tarnish Rammohun's Image :

রামমোহন রায়কে লোকচক্ষে কিছু হেয় প্রতিপন্ন করার জন্য কয়েকজন লেখক একটু বেশী তৎপর হয়েছিলেন। রামমোহন রায় সংখ্যাক্রমে প্রকাশিত হলো শনিবারের চিঠির মাঘ ১৩৪০ সংখ্যা; ইংরাজী ফেব্রুয়ারী ১৯৩৪। ব্যবস্থা করেছিলেন সজনী কান্ত। রামমোহন বিরোধী যারা ছিলেন তাঁদের কয়েকজন একত্র হলেন রামমোহনকে অশ্রদ্ধেয়রূপে খাড়া করতে। লেখকদের মধ্যে মোহিতলাল মজুমদার, ডাঃ সুশীল কুমার দে, কুমুদবন্ধু সেন, ব্রজেন্দ্রনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় — এই চারজন রামমোহনকে চারদিক থেকে আক্রমণ ক’রে প্রমাণ করলেন তাকে যে ভাবে বড় ক’রে তোলা হয়েছে তিনি মোটেই তার উপযুক্ত নন... প্রবন্ধগুলি পড়লেই বুঝা যায় সবই অশ্রদ্ধা থেকে রচিত... তাছাড়া ব্রজেন্দ্রনাথ রামমোহনের জীবনের কোন ঘটনা প্রমাণ করার জন্য রমাপ্রসাদ চন্দ্রের সঙ্গে বিষম তর্কে প্রবৃত্ত হয়েছিলেন প্রবাসীতে বাদপ্রতিবাদ ছাপা হতে লাগল, শেষ পর্য্যন্ত ব্রজেন্দ্র-

নাথ হেরে গেলেন রমাপ্রসাদের কাছে, ঘটনা সত্য প্রমাণ হলো
না..... মোহিতবাবু ও ব্রজেন্দ্রনাথের প্রভাব তখন সজনী-
কান্তের উপর প্রবল। আসলে সজনীকান্তের মনে হিন্দু ব্রাহ্ম
নিষে প্রশ্ন ছিল না। ব্রাহ্ম আন্দোলনকে খাটো করে দেখানোর
কোনো গরজও ছিল না, আমার ও এ বিষয়ে ভীষণ আপত্তি ছিল,
আমরা দু'জনেই প্রায় তখন নিরুপায়।

(পরিমল গোস্বামীর “যখন সম্পাদক ছিলাম” মাসিক বসুমতী
চৈত্র ১৩৭৮)

APPENDIX 4

Contemporaries whom Rammohun met

1. Fanny Parks, author of *Wanderings of a Pilgrim* based on experiences of her 24 years of stay in the East, knew Rammohun intimately in his early life in Calcutta.
2. William Rathbone of Liverpool.
3. Spurzheim, the phrenologist, of Liverpool.
4. William Roscoe, a versatile scholar and author of *Life of Lorenzo de Medici* and *Christian Morality as contained in the Precepts of New Testament in the Language of Jesus Christ*.
5. Jeremy Bentham, the renowned philosopher of the time.

He proposed Rammohun's name for the British parliament.

6. Joanna Baillie (1762-1831), Scottish poet and dramatist, whom Wordsworth held up as a model of English womanhood.
7. John Bowring (1792-1872), friend and biographer of Jeremy Bentham.
8. Lucy Aikin, daughter of Dr. John Aikin, Editor of *Atheneum*.
9. Ann Letitia De Breton, niece of Lucy Aikin, author of *Memories of Seventy Years* which contains a profile of Rammohun. She was John Hare's neighbour.
10. Miss Kiddell of Stapleton Grove who took charge of Rammohun during his illness. Rajaram stayed with her for some time.
11. David Hare, educationist and philanthropist of Calcutta, who was Rammohun's intimate friend.
12. John Hare, James Hare, Miss Hare in whose London house Rammohun stayed as a guest.
13. Miss Castle, the Carpenters, the Estlins of Bristol who nursed Rammohun during his illness.
14. James Sutherland, who was with Rammohun in the same boat. He later became Principal, Hooghly College.
15. H.T. Colebrooke, James Princep, H.T. Princep, H.H. Wilson, all renowned orientalists.
16. Alexander Duff, William Woodford, John Digby, Sandford Arnot, Buckingham, Middleton, Bryce.
17. Harriet Martineau (1802-76), an English advocate of Unitarianism and translator of Comte.

18. Robert Owen (1774-1858), socialist and father of Robert Dale Owen.
19. Robert Aspland, Editor of *Monthly Repository*.
20. Basil Montagu (1770-1851), an intimate friend of Wordsworth and Coleridge.
21. Rev. W.J. Fox, foreign secretary to the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.
22. John Towill Rutt, author of a biography of Priestley which he dedicated to Rammohun.
23. Fanny Kemble, actress, singer, poet and author of *Record of a Girlhood*.
24. Dr. Chalmers (1780-1847) of Edinburgh, introduced to Rammohun by Duff in Calcutta.
25. Thomas Moore, poet who met Rammohun at a dinner and became intimate with him.
26. Thomas Campbell, who wanted Rammohun to go to Parliament and seconded Bentham's proposal.
27. J.W. Hobhouse, President, Board of Control. who presented Rammohun to the King of England.
28. Duke of Cumberland (King's brother) who introduced Rammohun to the House of Lords.
29. Lord Brougham to whom Rammohun was introduced by Roscoe.
30. C.W. Wynn, President, Board of Control.
31. Charles Grant (Jr.), President, Board of Control.
32. Abbe Gregoire, Bishop of Blois (France).
33. Victor Jacquemont, French naturalist and traveller.

34. **Garcin De Tassy, orientalist and author of *Rudiments de la langue Hindi*, which contains a letter from Rammohun.**
35. **Burnouf (1801-1852), French Indologist.**
36. **Dowager Duchess of Cork, a celebrated hostess.**
37. **Rev. Dr. Kenny, Vicar of St. Olave.**
38. **Bishop Heber.**

APPENDIX 5

Engagements Rammohun Attended in England and France

Within three or four months of his arrival in England, Rammohun started a round of parties and very soon in some of These he was the central figure. The important one's are given below :

1. **Evening parties and dinners at Liverpool besides visits to churches of different denominations.**
2. **Parties at Manchester and meeting with William Roscoe.**
3. **Arrival in London and a visit to Jeremy Bentham at his house, the latter having called on Rammohun the previous night at his hotel.**
4. **Parties in London extending over one and a half months.**
5. **Visit to churches of different denominations in London.**
6. **East India Company's dinner at City of London Tavern on July 6, 1831, attended by many prominent persons, including some retired Governors-General.**

7. Reception in his honour at the Unitarian Association of England in May 1831.
8. Audience with King William IV at St. James' Palace on September 7, 1831, presented by Sir J.W. Hobhouse, President, Board of Control.
9. King William's banquet at the opening of the London Bridge.
10. Coronation ceremony of King William where he was seated with the Ambassadors of other countries of Europe.
11. Unitarian Anniversary Divine service on February 8, 1832.
12. Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Reforms where Report was submitted in August, 1832.
13. Audience with King Louis Philip of France on October 14, 1832, followed by participation at the Banquet.
14. Second audience with the King of France and dinner with him.
15. Reception at Societe Asiatique of Paris for conferment of diploma of its Honorary Membership in 1832. Rammohun had been elected a member of the Society on July 5, 1824.
16. Meeting with Robert Owen in the middle of April, 1833.
17. Rammohun's successful representation on behalf of the Emperor of Delhi to the King of England through the Board of Control.
18. Tenth Annual meeting of the Royal Society of Great Britain and Ireland on May, 11, 1833 as honoured guests.
19. Rammohun was present when the Privy Council rejected the appeal of the orthodox Hindus against the Regulation made by Bentinck in 1829.

APPENDIX 6

A. Letters from Rammohun to Americans

1. To "A gentleman in Boston". This gentleman had met Rammohun in Calcutta (published in *Christian Register*, February 1821).
2. To David Reed, Editor, *Christian Register* of Boston (published in *Christian Register* December 1821).
3. To "A gentleman in Baltimore" October 1822.
4. To "A gentleman in Baltimore" December 1822.
5. To David Reed, written on January 13, 1824 in reply to three specific questions put to him by Reed (published in *Christian Register* May 1824).
6. To W. Ward, February 1824.
7. To Rev. Henry Ware, written on February 2, 1824, with a set of questions concerning prospects of Christianity in India (published in *Christian Register* 1824).
8. To "A gentleman" in this country, December 1824.
9. To the Boston India Association, December 1825.
10. To William Alexander (from Regent's Park London address) July 1831.
11. To Joseph Tuckerman, Not dated.
12. Correspondence between Rammohun and Ellery Channing. Not yet traced.

B. Letters about, or references to, Rammohun Roy by Americans

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|--------------------------------|------|
| 1. W. Adam to Dr. J. Tuckerman | 1826 |
| 2. W. Adam to Dr. J. Tuckerman | 1826 |

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| 3. | W. Adam to Rev. Gannett, Boston | 1826 |
| 4. | W. Adam to Dr. J. Tuckerman | 1827 |
| 5. | W. Adam to Rev. W.J. Fox | 1827 |
| 6. | W. Adam to Dr. J. Tuckerman | 1827 |
| 7. | W. Adam to Dr. J. Tuckerman | 1828 |
| 8. | Dr. Tuckerman to the Unitarian Association | 1828 |
| 9. | Lucy Aikin to Channing | 1831 |
| 10. | Dr. Tuckerman to Lant Carpenter | 1833 |
| 11. | Lucy Aikin to Channing | 1833 |
| 12. | Unitarian Clergyman on Rammohun | Not dated |
| 13. | English Unitarian Association in <i>Morning Chronicle</i> | Not dated |

C. Letters from Rammohun

To John Digby, England (late 1816 or early 1817) :

I take this opportunity of giving you a summary account of my proceedings since the period of your departure from India.

The consequences of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adopted for the use of rational beings, than any others which have come to my knowledge; and have also found Hindus in general more superstitious and miserable, both in performance of their religious rites and in their domestic concerns, than the rest of the known nations on the earth; I therefore, with a view to making them happy and comfortable both here and hereafter, not only employed verbal arguments against the absurdities of the idolatry practised by them, but also translated their most revered theological work, namely Vedant, into Bengali and Hindustani, and also several chapters of the Ved, in order to convince them that the unity of God, and absurdity of idolatry,

are evidently pointed out by their own Scriptures. I, however, in the beginning of my pursuits, met with the greatest opposition from their self-interested leaders, the Brahmins, and was deserted by my nearest relations; I consequently felt extremely melancholy, in that critical situation, the only comfort that I had was the consoling and rational conversation of my European friends, specially those of Scotland and England.

I, now with the greatest pleasure inform you that several of my countrymen have risen superior to their prejudices, many are inclined to seek for the truth, and a great number of those who dissented from me have now coincided with me in opinion. This engagement has prevented me from proceeding to Europe as soon as I could. But you may depend upon my setting off for England within a short period of time; and if you do not return to India before October next, you will most probably receive a letter from me, informing you of the exact time of my departure for England, and of the name of the vessel on which I shall embark.

The above letter appears in the preface to the London edition of *Abridgement of Vedanta and Kenopanishad*, published by Digby in 1817.

2. To Rev. Thomas Belsham, London (1821) :

As Mr. Roberts, who is about to leave India for England, has kindly offered to take charge of any letter or parcel that I might wish to send to Europe, I embrace this opportunity of expressing the gratitude I have felt for your kind notice of me and of rendering you my sincere thanks for the encouraging letter which I had the honour of receiving from you a few months ago. I at the same time should consider myself guilty of ingratitude if I neglect to offer you my warmest acknowledgements for the numerous essential benefits I have derived from that most valuable production for 'Improved Version'; it is unquestionably the best of all the versions that have hitherto appeared in English, and it is read before the Unitarian Society in Calcutta at their times of worship by its Minister Revd. Mr. Adam whose abilities and acquirements joined with his

piety, sincerity, zeal and diligence had rendered him a real honour to our community. Since my compiling and publishing the 'Precepts of the New Testament' I have been under the necessity of defending myself against the attacks of the Baptists and other Missionaries, although it was my wish to avoid as much as possible any ground of disputation with so many worthy characters. These persons are not destitute of zeal, but appear in common with a greater number of their fellow believers deficient in discretion, for they know or ought to know, that the more they employ their ingenuity in support of the idea of a Triune God the more they expose Christianity to the objections of the intelligent among both Hindoos and Mussalmans and the further they drive away from all attention to their doctrines such Christians as, besides having been so brought up, can think for themselves and have sincerity enough to preserve a correspondence between their sentiments and professions.

From the annexed quotations No. 1 and No. 2 from missionary works lately published you will perceive that these Gentlemen are obliged to make the confession that in religious discussions they have little or no chance of a firm stand against those Hindoos who have rejected Idolatry and whom they consider imbued with Socinean principles.

This is one circumstance which has for a long time perplexed me and I still feel myself unable to understand. It is that a body of such honourable and learned men as is formed by the Dignitaries and common clergy of the Church of England should so uniformly continue during their lives to manifest their adherence to those 39 articles of faith which they so solemnly subscribed to on first assuming the duties of their office, notwithstanding the fluctuations of opinion, to which their mind might naturally be supposed subject, from now arguments under perpetually changing circumstances continually presenting in the course of studies or communications with persons of a different mode of thinking. Were the doctrines contained in the articles alluded to such self-evident truths as acquire only to be plainly stated in order to secure immediate assent from any person of plain understanding. I could com-

prehend the existance of such conviction of their truth, as no argument however subtle should be able to shake but as it is notorious on the contrary that many of the doctrines they contain are prescribed solely as articles of faith, deduced from authority which it is impious to dispute, though avowedly incomprehensible to human reason, it is to me most surprising that arguments coming in aid of the understanding and reconciliation to reason the sacred authority deduced as they are from a variety of at least plausible sources should so very seldom seem to weigh at all in the minds of any individual members of so numerous a body. It might be unfair to doubt their sincerity yet how else to account for such an uniformity of opinion amongst so many men studying those subjects during their whole lives, I must confess myself quite at a loss.

If Providence permit my visiting England, one of the greatest pleasures I promise myself is the enjoyment and benefit of your company. I am glad to inform you that the Revd. Mr. Fox has been kind enough to send to Mr. Adam your excellent commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, for which we are all thankful. I am inclined to think those are the works of yours which intimated your intention to send me. With my sincere wishes that you may enjoy health and happiness in your declining years. (Modern Review 1932).

3. To Sir John Bowring, London, (September 15, 1822). For text see p. 307, of my earlier work on Rajah Rammohun Roy.

4. To Dr. T. Rees, London (1824) :

Reverend Sir, ..I received your letter of the 16th June last., accompanied by a parcel of books to my address, with feelings of peculiar gratification. I cannot but be proud of the honour which the Committee have conferred upon me in reprinting my compilation of 'The Precepts of Jesus' and the two Appeals in its defence. I beg you will oblige me by communicating to the members my warm acknowledgements for so distinguished a mark of their approbation. I also beg you will accept my best thanks for your valuable present of the Racovian Catechism, which I shall not fail to read with due attention.

I have no language to express the happiness I derive from the idea that so many friends of truth, both in England and America, are engaged in attempting to free originally pure, simple and practical religion of Christ from the heathenish doctrines and absurd notions gradually introduced under the Roman power, and I sincerely pray that the success of those gentlemen may be as great (if not greater than) that of Luther and others, to whom the religious world is indebted for laying the first stone of religious reformation, and having recommended the system of distinguishing divine authority from human creeds, and the practice of benevolence from ridiculous outward observances.....

5. To J.B. Estlin of Bristol, Calcutta (1827) :

Dear Sir,...Mrs. Matthew being about to depart for Europe, has kindly offered to take charge of any letter of pamphlet that I may address to you. I embrace this opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter and of the books, your excellent father's Lectures on Moral Philosophy, &c., which I had the honour to receive through Mrs. Matthew upwards of two years ago, and apologizing to you for the delay which has unavoidably taken place in answering your kind communication. For a period of more than two years, owing to the most affecting circumstances arising from the hostile feelings of some individuals towards my family, I found myself unable to pursue any undertaking or carry on correspondence, even with those whom I sincerely loved and revered, either residing in this country or in any other part of the globe. As I intend to lay those circumstances before the public within a short period in the form of a pamphlet, I refrain from detailing them at present. I however trust that in consideration of the accident alluded to, you will kindly excuse the apparent neglect of which I confess I am guilty, and for which I have no other apology to offer.....

6. To C.W. Wynn (1827) :

....Allow me to return the volume containing the evidence on the state of Ireland, which you so very kindly lent me. It is, I presume, impossible for an uninterested person to peruse it

as it is, and not come to a determination to second the cause of Catholic emancipation; I content myself with an appeal to your humanity and good sense, I regret very much that I, who am heartily anxious to co-operate with you on all religious and secular matters, should be compelled to differ so widely from you in this single but important point. As there is, I fear, no chance of any change in our respective opinions on this subject, I hasten to conclude this with my fervent wishes for your health and success in all your views and undertakings in India."

7. To J. Crawford (1828) :

In the famous Jury Bill, Mr. Wynn, the late President of the Board of Control.....This is the sum total of Mr. Wynn's Jury Bill, of which we bitterly complain.

Supposing that some 100 years hence the Native character becomes elevated from constant intercourse with Europeans and the Acquirements of general and political knowledge as well as of modern arts and sciences, is it possible that they will not have the spirit as well as the inclination to resist any unjust and oppressive measures...

In common with those who seem partial to the British rule from the expectation of future benefits, arising out of the connection, I necessarily feel extremely grieved in often witnessing Acts and Requisitions passed by Government without consulting or seeming to understand the feelings of its Indian subjects and without considering that these people have had for more than half a century the advantage of being ruled by and associated with an enlightened nation, advocates of liberty and promoters of knowledge.

8. To the Governor-General, Calcutta (1830) :

From the kindness...to take some interest. Having at length surmounted all the obstacles of a domestic nature...I am now resolved to proceed to that land of liberty...I have determined not to appear there as the Envoy of His Majesty Akbar the second, but as a private individual...chance of success may be improved.

9. Translation of a letter to the Heir Apparent to the Emperor of Delhi (1830) :

My representation is that in obedience to the orders of His Majesty, having attentively persued the treaty between the Hon'ble Company and his late father with other papers relating thereto, I found His Majesty's right to the revenue of the territories West to the Jumna amounting to upwards of 30 Lakhs of Rupees clearly and incontestably established by those documents, notwithstanding which the Hon'ble Company pay him only 12 lakhs. As His Majesty...cannot comprehend the good or evil of others...

10. To the Governor-General, Calcutta (1830) :

I beg leave to your Lordship that some months ago I was informed by His Majesty Abu-nasar Muin-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Badshah that His Majesty has apprized your Lordship of my appointment as his Elichi (Envoy) to the Court of Great Britain, and of the having been pleased to invest me as His Majesty's servant with the title of Rajah in consideration of the respectability attached to that situation. Not being anxious for titular distinction, I have hitherto refrained from availing myself of the honour conferred on me by His Majesty.

His Majesty, however, being of opinion that it is essentially necessary for the dignity of his Royal House, that I, as the representative thereof to the most powerful monarch in Europe, and Agent for the settlement of His Majesty's affairs.. should be invested with the title above-mentioned, has graciously forwarded to me a seal engraved for the purpose at Delhi. I, therefore, take the liberty of laying the subject before your Lordship, hoping that you will be pleased to sanction my adoption of such title

11. To A. Stirling, Secretary, Political Department, Government of India, Calcutta (March 7, 1830) :

It having been brought to my notice by a friend that the John Bull newspaper of the 25 Ultimo has amongst a issue of other falsehoods and misrepresentations connected my name

with the charge of having obtained certain Papers by bribery, I think it but due to myself as well as to the individuals in the employment of Government who may be supposed implicated in such a charge, to deny the allegation.

All the papers alluded to were sent to me from His Majesty the king of Delhi, many of them he must have had in his own possession as having been publicly addressed to his Predecessors or himself, and other may have been procured by private favour from Functionaries who were above the reach of bribery ...that however this may be I beg distinctly to repeat my assertion that as far as I am either directly or indirectly concerned, the charge of bribery is absolutely false and unfounded. I beg leave to submit for your satisfaction a letter of old date from His Majesty who will confirm what I have now stated. The hand writing you write readily recognize as that of the Moon-shee usually employed by him, so as to leave in your mind no doubt of its authenticity.

12. To Chairman and Dy. Chairman of the East India Company, London (1831) :

I have the honour.....principal object of my visiting England is to lay before the British authorities with which I am charged from His Majesty, King of Delhi.....not being attended with success. I would beg to state on the present occasion what I possess full and unlimited powers from His Majesty to negotiate and agree to the final settlement.....to be his fair and equiable claims of the Company.....As from the printed statement you will perceive that this claim regarding His Majesty's stipend was brought before and decide upon by Lord Amherst's Government, the present local Government of India could not reverse the decision passed by their predecessors.....

13. To Chairman and Dy. Chairman East India Company, London (1831) :

In continuation of my former address ..of the authorities in England, I beg in the first place to bring to your notice the

Minute of the Government of Lord Minto.. an appeal to the authorities in England.....records of your Hon'ble Court.

- 14. To Sir Charles Grant (1831), followed by two more letters.**
- 15. To Hyde Villiers, London (1831), followed by three more letters.**
- 16. To Jeremy Bentham, London (1831).**
- 17. To Dr. Lant Carpenter, London (May 7, 1841) :**

.....I indeed congratulate myself and you on the glorious prospects that are at present opening upon this country and all the countries depending upon it, nay on the world itself, from most important, wise and salutary political reforms now in progress.....

- 18. To Garcin de Tassy, in Persian language from England (August 1, 1831) :**

Your blessed letter has reached me; it fills your servant with joy and honour. May the omnipotent condescend to keep you in good health. I shall wait for the day of meeting in accordance with the wish expressed in this letter. For more than three months, your servant is in England. If God wishes he shall soon have the honour to be present at Paris and through your introduction he wishes to see Mr. Chezy. Your humble servant is very grateful for the attentions you have promised him, and he wishes to thank you from the bottom of his heart. A longer letter will exceed the bounds of politeness.

- 19. To Prince Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs, France.**

To the Misister of Foreign Affairs of France, Paris, Sir, you may be surprised at receiving a letter from a Foreigner, the Native of a country situated many thousand miles from France and I assuredly would not now have tresspassed on your attention, were I not induced by a sense of what I consider due

to myself and by the respect I feel towards a country standing in the foremost rank of free and civilised nations.

2nd. For twelve years past I have entertained a wish (as noticed, I think, in several French and English periodicals) to visit a country so favoured by nature and so richly adorned by the cultivation of arts and sciences, and above all blessed by the possession of a free constitution. After surmounting many difficulties interposed by religious and national distinctions and other circumstances, I am at last opposite your coast, where however, I am informed that I must not place my foot on your territory unless I previously solicit and obtain an express permission for my entrance from the Ambassador or Minister of France in England.

3rd. Such a requisition is quite unknown even among the Nations of Asia (though extremely hostile to each other from religious prejudices and political dissensions, with the exception of China, a country noted for its extreme jealousy of foreigners and apprehensions of the introduction of new customs and ideas. I am, therefore, quite at a loss to conceive how it should exist among a people so famed as the French are for courtesy and liberality in all other matters.

4th. It is now generally admitted that not religion only but unbiased commonsense as well as the accute deductions of scientific research lead to the conclusion that all mankind are one great family of which numerous nations and tribes existing are only various branches, hence enlightened men in all countries must feel a wish to encourage and facilitate human intercourse in every manner by removing as far as possible all impediments to it in order to promote the reciprocal advantage and enjoyment of the whole human race.

5th. It may perhaps be urged that during the existence of war and hostile feelings between any two nations (aristing probably from their not understanding their real interests), policy requires of them to adopt those precautions against each other. This, however, only applies to a state of warfare. If France, therefore, were at war with surrounding nations or regarded

their people as dangerous, the notice of the such an extraordinary precaution might have been conceived.

6th. But as a general place has existed in Europe for many years, and there is more particularly so harmonious an understanding between the peoples of France and England and even between their present Governments, I am utterly at a loss to discover the case of a regulation which manifests, to say the least, a want of cordiality and confidence on the part of France.

7th. Even during peace the following excuses might perhaps be offered for the continuance of such restrictions, though in my humble opinion they cannot stand a fair examination.

First : If it be said that persons of bad character should not be allowed to enter France, still it might I presume, be answered that the granting of passports by French Ambassador here is not usually founded on certificate of character or investigation into the conduct of individuals. Therefore, it does not provide a remedy for that supposed evil.

Secondly : If it be intended to present felons escaping from justice, this case seems well-provided for by the treaties between different nations for the surrender of all criminals.

Thirdly : If it be meant to obstruct the flight of debtors from their creditors, in this respect likewise it appears superfluous, as the bankrupt laws themselves after a short imprisonment set the debtor free even in his own country, therefore, voluntary exile from his own country would be, I conceive, a greater punishment.

Fourthly : If it be intended to apply to political matters, it is in the first place not applicable to my case. But on general grounds I beg to observe that it appears to me, the ends of constitutional Government might be better attained by submitting every matter of political difference between two countries to a Congress composed of an equal number from the parlia-

ment of each, the decision of the majority to be acquiesced in by both nations and the Chairman to be chosen by each Nation alternately, for one year, and the place of meeting to be one year within the limits of one country and next within those of other, such as Dover and Calais for England and France.

8th. By such a Congress all matters of difference, whether political or commercial, affecting the nations of any two civilised countries with constitutional Governments, might be settled amicably and just to the satisfaction of both and profound peace and friendly feeling might be preserved between them from generation to generation.

9th. I do not dwell on the inconvenience which the system of passports imposes in urgent matters of business and in cases of domestic affliction. But I may be permitted to observe that the mere circumstance of applying for passport seems a tacit admission that the character of the applicant stands in need of such a certificate or testimonial before he can be permitted to pass unquestioned. Therefore, any one may feel some delicacy in exposing himself to the possibility of refusal which would lead to an inference unfavourable to his character as a peaceable citizen.

My desire, however, to visit that country is so great that I shall conform to such conditions as are imposed on me, if the French Government, after taking the subject into consideration, judge it proper and expedient to continue restrictions, contrived for a different state of things, but to which they may have become reconciled by long habit, as I should be sorry to set up my opinion against that of the present enlightened Government of France.

20. To Mrs. S.C. Belnos, London (March 5, 1832) :

Madam, I have with great pleasure looked over your drawings, and read your descriptions of them, and I now have the satisfaction to inform you, that they are true representations of nature, so much so, that they have served to bring to my

recollection, the real scenes alluded to, of that unhappy country.

The drawings are so expressive of themselves, that the descriptions, however excellent, are scarcely necessary to any one acquainted with India.

I have retained the copy handed over to me, and wishing you every success in your present undertaking (published by Prof. Suniti K. Chatterjee in *Prabasi*, Calcutta Kartick 1939).

21. To William Rathbone, London (1832) :

My Dear Sir...I am now happy to find myself fully justified in congratulating you and my other friends at Liverpool on the complete success of the Reform Bills, notwithstanding the violent opposition and want of political principle on the part of the aristocrats. The nation can no longer be a prey of the few who used to fill their purses. As I publicly avowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated I would renounce my connection with the country, I refrained from writing to you or any other friend in Liverpool until I knew the result. Thank heaven I can now feel proud of being one of your fellow-subjects, and heartily rejoice that I have had the infinite happiness of witnessing the salvation of the nation, nay of the whole world.

22. To Woodford of Brighton, (1833) :

.....I rejoice to observe that the translation of the Vedas, etc., which I presented to Mrs. W. before my departure for the continent of Europe, has proved interesting to her and to yourself. I am now confirmed in the opinion, that her good sense and her national devotion to religion will not induce her to reject any.....reasonable sentiments, on the ground that they are not found in this book, or in that volume.

I was detained in France too late to proceed to Italy last year, besides, without a knowledge of French, I found myself totally, unable to carry on communication with foreigners,

with my degree of facility. Hence I thought I would not avail myself of my travels through Italy and Austria to my own satisfaction. I have been studying French with a French gentleman who accompanied me to London, and now is living with me

23. To the Court of Directors, London (1833) :

In answer to your Secretary's letter of the 27th ultimo I beg leave to state that in consequence of the suspense of payment by the House of Messrs. Richards Machintosh & Co., my Agents in London, and the failure of Messrs. Machintosh & Co., in Calcutta, who were my Agents as well in general pecuniary transactions as in receiving my rents and managing my landed property, I found myself rather embarrassed and on the 8th of May last to the liberty of addressing you for a loan of money to enable me to proceed to India to manage my affairs there in person.

Being requested by you on the...security I intended to offer. Since my last letter to your Secretary...could not expect a speedy supply from that quarter.

To relieve myself from the present want, I as a Native of India, naturally first look up to you in difficulty and feel less reluctance in applying to you than to others. Should you think it proper to afford me your assistance with a loan of £2,000, on my personal security, I shall gratefully repay the sum either within a year in this country or within three years in India from the day of receipt of it.

24. To Woodford, London (August 22, 1833) :

".....I was glad to hear from Mr. Carey some time ago, that you and Mrs. W. were in good health when he saw you last and Sir Henry Strachey, whom I had the pleasure of seeing about three weeks ago, has confirmed the same information. He is indeed an extraordinary man and I feel I delighted whenever I have an opportunity of conversing with that philosopher. I have been rather poorly for some days past, I

am now getting better, and entertained a hope of proceeding to the country in a few days when I will endeavour to pay you a visit in Taunton. The reformed Parliament has disappointed the people of England, the ministers may perhaps redeem their pledge during next session. The failure of several mercantile houses in Calcutta has produced much distrust, both in India and England. The news from Portugal is highly gratifying though another struggle is still expected. I hope you will oblige me by presenting to Mrs. W. with my best respects, the accompanying copy of a translation giving an account of the system of religion which prevailed in Central India at the time of the invasion of that country by Alexandar the Great."

25. To Woodford, London (August 25, 1833) :

"... ..As every person of a reflecting turn of mind feels interested about antiquities, I have the pleasure of sending the accompanying translation which gives an account of the system of religion prevailing in Central India at the time of Alexandar the Great and beg your acceptance of it. My health has been rather indifferent; I therefore intend to proceed to Wales through Bristol by Thursday next. I hope you will present my best regards to your worthy parents..."

This above letter does not disclose the identity of the addressee but the contents bear a very close resemblance to those of the letter written by Rammohun to Woodford (with whom Digby worked for sometime at Murshidabad etc.). The "translation" referred to above, took place...was presumably from Greek and possibly by Rammohun himself.

26. About a dozen short letters to Miss Kiddell and Miss Castle about his intended visit to Bristol.

APPENDIX 7 : RAMMOHUN'S WORKS

A. In Persian and Arabic

1. *Tufat-ul-Muwahhiddin* (1803-04). The text is in Persian and the foreword in Arabic. *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhiddin* was translated into English by Moulvi Obaidullah El Obaide and published by the Adi Brahma Samaj, Calcutta, in 1884. A Bengali translation from the original Arabic-Persian text was published by Girish Chandra Sen, the well known missionary of the Bharatvarshiya Brahma Samaj and an eminent scholar of Islamic theology. The only Bengali translation extant to-day was published by J.N. Das, Secretary, Sadharan Brahma Samaj, Calcutta.
2. *Manazarat-ul-Adyan*. No copy of the book has as yet been found, but Rammohun makes a clear reference to it at the of his *Tuhfat*. Kazi Abdul Wodood however thinks that it must have been circulated either in printed or in manuscript form.
3. *Javav-i-Tufat-ul-Muwahhiddin* (1820 ?). An anonymous Persian booklet written in defence of Rammohun's *Tuhfat* against the attacks of the Zoroastrians, now in the British Museum, London. Some scholars hold that it was written by Rammohun himself.

B. In Bengali and Sanskrit

1. *Vedanta-Grantha* (1815).
2. *Vedantasara* (1815).
3. *Talabkaropanishad* or *Kenopanishad* (1816). Bengali translation based on Samkara-charya's gloss.
4. *Isopanishad* (1816). Bengali translation based on Samkara-charya's gloss.
5. *Utsabanda Vidyavagiser Sahit Bichar*. Sastric disputation with Utsabananda (Vidyavagis). Under this head,

Rammohun wrote three pamphlets in Sanskrit (1816-17) Utsabananda, who was an orthodox pandit, eventually accepted Rammohun's position and is said to have joined the Brahmo Samaj when that organisation came into being in 1820.

6. *Bhattacharyer Sahib Bichar* (1817). Sastric disputation with Mrityunjoy Bhattacharya (Vidyalankar). It is a reply in Bengali to the criticisms of Rammohun's *Vedanta Grantha*, as embodied in Mrityunjoy's *Vedanta Chandrika* published in 1817.
7. *Mandukyopanishad* (1817). Bengali translation according to the gloss of Samkaracharya.
8. *Kathopanishad* (1817). Bengali translation according to Samkaracharya's gloss.
9. *Goswami Sahit Bichar* (1818). Sastric disputation with Goswami. It is a reply in Bengali to the criticisms of the Vaishnavite.
10. *Sahamaran Vishaye Pravartak-O-Nibartaker Sambad* (1818). Which in literal translation meant a conference between an advocate and an Opponent of the Custom of *Suttee*. This was Rammohun's first Bengali tract on *Suttee*.
11. *Gayatrir Artha* (1818), an elucidation in Bengali of the most respected Gayatrimantra of the Rig-Veda.
12. *Mundakopanishad* (1819), Bengali translation according to the gloss of Samkaracharya.
13. *Atmanatma-viveka* of Samkaracharya with Bengali translation (1819).
14. *Sahamaran Vishaye Pravartak Nivartaker Dwitta Samvad* (1819), a second Conference between an Advocate and an Opponent of the Custom of *Suttee*. This was Rammohun's Second Bengali tract on *Suttee*, in reply to the criticisms

of his first Bengali tract by Pandit Kashinath Tarkavagis in his *Vidhayak Nishedhaker Sambad*, published with an English translation earlier in 1819.

15. *Kavitakarer Sahit Bichar* (1820), Sastric disputation with the author. A tract in Bengali in reply to an anonymous opponent who has been mentioned as Kavitakar or "composer of verse".
16. *Subrahmanya Sastri Sahit Bichar* (1820). Sastric disputation with Subrahmanya Sastri. This was published simultaneously in four languages Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi and English. The third annual report of the School Book Society mentions a tract by Rammohun Roy under the title "Reply to the Observations of Sobha Sastree". No separate work of that name, however, has come to light as yet. Evidently it is a slip. Subra (abbreviation of Subrahmanyam) not Sobha.
17. A Bengali tract called *Brahmo-Puttalika Samvad* (1920), mentioned by Rev. Long (*Catalogue* p. 103) to have been a work of Rammohun Roy under a pseudonym.
18. *Brahman Sevadhi: Brahmana-O-Missionary Samvad* (Numbers 1, 2 & 3) (1821). A general defence of Brahmanical Hinduism against the attacks of the Christian missionaries. The first three numbers of *Brahman Sevadhi* were published together with their English translations under the title *The Brahmanical Magazine: The Missionary and the Brahman*.
19. *Chari Prasner Uttar* (1822). The tract contains Rammohun's reply to four questions asked by an orthodox opponent in the columns of the *Samachar Darpan* April 6, 1822, under the name *Dharma-Samathapanakamkhi* (one wishing to establish supremacy of religion).
20. *Prarthana-patra* (1823) published with an English version entitled *Humble Suggestions to his countrymen who believe in the One True God*.

21. *Padri-O-Sisya Samvad* (1823). It criticises Trinitarianism in the shape of an imaginary dialogue between a Trinitarian and three Chinese convert to Trinitarian Christianity. Its English version "Dialogue between a Trinitarian Missionary and three Chinese Converts" was published in 1823, and the Bengali version must have been a little earlier.
22. *Gurupaduka* (1823). The book has not been traced but has been mentioned in Rev. Longs Catalogue of Bengali Books (Calcutta 1855) It must be a small tract written in reply to an anonymous attack (entitled *Jnananjana-salaka*) on Rammohun.
23. *Pathya-pradān* or Medicine for the Sick (1823). A reply to Pandit Kashinath Tarkapanchanan's *Pashanda Pirana*.
24. *Brahmanishtha Grihasther Lakshan* (1826). It discusses the essentials of a householder who is truly devoted to Brahman.
25. *Kayasther Sahit Madyapan Vishayak Bichar* : A Sastric Disputation with a gentleman of the Kayastha Caste, on the question of drinking of wine. In 1826 this tract was published under the name *Ramchandra Das*.
26. *Vajrasuchi* (1827), a Sanskrit text and Bengali translation of the Vajrasuchi Upanishad, a Mahayana Buddhist text which criticises Brahmanical caste system.
27. *Gayatry Paramopasana-vidhanam* (1827). A Sanskrit-Bengali tract on the mode of worshipping the Absolute through the Gayatri Mantra. Its English translation also appeared in the same year.
28. *Brahmopasana* (1828). It is a tract on Divine Worship.
29. *Brahmasangit* (1828). A Book of Bengali devotional hymns containing compositions of Rammohun Roy.
30. *Anusthan* (1829). A Bengali tract which, under the form of a dialogue between a master (Acharya) and his disciple

(Sisya), discusses Rammohun's concept of Upasana (divine worship) and its method.

31. *Sahamaran Vishaya* (1829). This is Rammohun's last Bengali tract on *Suttee* published as a reply to the attacks of two orthodox opponents who wrote under the names of "Vipra" and "Mughabodha-chhatra".
32. *Kshudra Patri*. This leaflet contains two Upanishadic verses and two elegant hymns composed by Rammohun. It was published apparently before Rammohun had sailed for England.
33. *Gaudiya Vyakaran* (1833). It is a grammar of the Bengali language written on the model of Rammohun's earlier work in English on the same subject in 1826. The text was published by the Calcutta School Book Society, when Rammohun was in England.

C. In Hindi

1. *Vedanta-Grantha* (1815). Hindi translation from the Bengali original.
2. *Vedantasara* (1815). Hindi translation from the Bengali original. The above two books have not been traced. Rammohun refers to these two Hindi publications in the preface to *An Abridgment* (Calcutta, 1816). (See Nag and Burman : *English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Part II. pp. 59-60)
3. *Subrahmanyan Sastrir Sahit Vichar* (1820).

D. In English (Published in Calcutta)

1. Translation of an *Abridgment of the Vedanta* (1816). A sacred book on Hindu Theology which dwells on the unity of Godhead.
2. Translation of the *Cena (Kena) Upanishad* (1816). A sacred book on Hindu Theology which, according to the

gloss of the celebrated Samkaracharya, establishes the unity and the omnipotence of the Supreme being.

3. *Translation of the Ishopanishad* (1816). Covers one of the chapters of the Yajur Ved which, according to Samkaracharya's gloss, establishes with the greatest stress the concept Advaitism.
4. *A Defence of Hindu Theism* in reply to the attack (from Madras) of an Advocate of idolatry (Samkar Sastry).
5. *A Second Defence of the Monotheistical system of the Vedas* (1817) in reply to "an Apology for the Present State of Hindu worship" of Mrityunjaya Vidyalamkara.
6. *Counter-Petition of an orthodox Section of Hindu Inhabitants of Calcutta against Suttee* (1818).
7. Translation from the Bengali of a *Conference between an Advocate for and an Opponent of the Practice of Burning Widows Alive* (1818)
8. Translation of the *Moonduk-Upanishad* (1818), according to the gloss of Samkaracharya.
9. Translation of the *Kuthopunishad* (1819) according to the gloss of Samkaracharya.
10. *An Apology for the Pursuit of Final Beatitude* (1820). It is the English version of Rammohun's disputation with Pandit Subrahmanyam Sastri.
11. *A Second Conference* (1820) between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the Practice of Burning Widows alive.
12. *The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness* based on the New Testament ascribed to the four Evangelists (1820).
13. *An Appeal to the Christian public in defence of the "Precepts of Jesus"*, by a Friend to Truth (1820).

14. *Second Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of the "Precepts of Jesus"* (1821).
15. *The Brahmanical Magazine or the Missionary and the Brahman*, being a vindication of the Hindu religion against the attacks of Christian Missionaries (1821).
16. *Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females* according to the Hindu Law of Inheritance (1822).
17. *The Brahmanical Magazine or The Missionary and The Brahman*, No. IV (1823).
18. *Final Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the "Precepts of Jesus"* (1823).
19. *Humble Suggestions to his Countrymen who believe in One True God* (1823), published in the name of Prasanna Kumar Tagore.
20. Petitions against the Press Regulations :
 - (a) *Memorial to the Supreme Court* (1823)
 - (b) *Appeal to the King in Council* (1823)
21. *A Few queries for the serious Consideration of Trinitarians* Part I & II (1823).
22. *A Dialogue between a Missionary and three Chinese Converts* (1823).
23. *A Vindication of the Incarnation of the Deity as the Common basis of Hinduism* (1823) published under the pseudonym Ram Doss.
24. *An Appeal to Lord Amherst on Western Education* (December 2, 1823).
25. *A letter to Rev. Henry Ware on the Prospects of Christianity in India* (1824).

26. *Translation of a Sanskrit tract in English on Different Modes of Worship* (1825), (published under the signature "By a friend of the Author")
27. *Bengali Grammar in English Language* (1826).
28. *Translation into English of a Sanskrit Tract on the Divine Worship of the Supreme Being as revealed in the Vedas.*
29. *Answer of a Hindu to the question, "Why do you frequent Unitarian place of worship instead of the numerous attended Established Churches?"* This tract was published in the name of Chandra Sekhar Dev (1827).
30. *Symbol of the Trinity* (1828)
31. *The Universal Religion : Religious Instructions founded on Sacred Authorities* (1829).
32. *Petition to the Government against Regulation III of 1828 for the resumption of Lakheraj Lands* (1829).
33. *Petition of the Padishah (Akbar II) of Delhi to king George IV of England* (1829).
34. *Address to Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India upon the passing of the Act for the abolition of the Suttee* (1830).
35. *Essay on the Rights of Hindus over Ancestral Property according to the Law of Bengal* (1830).
36. *Letters of Hindu Law of Inheritance* (1830).
37. *Abstract of Arguments regarding the Burning of widows considered a Religious Rite* (1830).
38. *Counter-Petition to the House of Commons with regard to the Memorial of the advocates of the Suttee* (1830).
39. *Authorities of Hindu Religion in favour of slaying the cow and eating its flesh* (unpublished).

E. In English (Published in England)

1. *Abridgement of the Vedanta* and the English translation of the *Kenopanishad* (reprinted 1817) with a preface by John Digby.
2. *The Precepts of Jesus* together with the *First and Second Appeal to the Christian Public* (1823) with a preface by Thomas Rees, published by the Unitarian Society.
3. *Final Appeal* to the Christian Public in defence of the Precepts of Jesus (1823).
4. *Answer to Queries* by Rev. H. Ware of Cambridge (U.S.) printed in "Correspondence relative to the Prospects of Christianity and the means of Promoting its Reception in India" (1823).
5. *Treaty with the King of Delhi*. Decision thereon by the Governor-General of India; Reports of the British Resident and Political agent at Delhi.
6. *Some Remarks* in vindication of the Resolution passed by the Government of Bengal in 1829 abolishing the practice of female sacrifices in India, (1823). This tract does not form part of Nag and Burman publications. A Copy of it was discovered by Prof. U.N. Ball in the library of the Foreman Christian College, Lahore. It will be found in the *Modern Review* March, 1934.
7. *Essay on the Rights of Hindus over Ancestral Property* according to Law of Bengal with an Appendix containing Letters on the Hindu Law of Inheritance (1832).
8. *Exposition of the Practical Operation of the Judicial and Revenue system of India* and of the general character and condition of its Native Inhabitants, as submitted in Evidence to the Authorities in England.
9. *Answer of Rammohun to the Queries on the Salt Monopoly*

(March 19, 1832), reprinted in the Modern Review, May, 1934.

10. Translation of Several *Principal Books, Passages and Texts of the Vedas*, and of some Controversial Works in Brahmanical Theology.

This collection includes the following Tracts :

- (a) Translation of Abridgement of the Vedant.
- (b) Translation of the Moonduk-upanishud.
- (c) Translation of the Kena Upanishud.
- (d) Translation of the Katha-upanishud.
- (e) Translation of the Ishopanishud.
- (f) A Translation into English of a Sanskrit Tract inculcating the Divine Worship, etc.
- (g) A Defence of Hindoo Theism.
- (h) Second Defence of the Monotheistical System of the Vedas etc.
- (i) An apology for the pursuit of Final Beatitute, independently of the Brahminical Observances.
- (j) Translation of a Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the practice of burning widows alive.
- (k) A Second Conference between an Advocate for, and an Opponent of, the practice of burning widows alive.
- (l) Abstract of Arguments regarding the burning of widows, considered as a Religious Rite.
- (m) Brief Remarks regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females according to the Hindoo Law of Inheritance

11. *Appeal to the British Nation against a violation of common justice and a breach of public faith by the Supreme Government of India with the native inhabitation* (1823). A copy of the tract is available at the Library of the Foreman Christian College, Lahore. The Government of India in September, 1829 rejected the appeal which Rammohun submitted on behalf of the landholders of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa against Regulation III of 1828 for the resumption of Lakheraj lands. Rammohun while in England preferred an appeal on the matter to the Board of Control in the name of his companion, Ramratan Mukherjee. Even this failed to produce any satisfactory result and he then published the above booklet in the name of the same Ramratan Mukherjee. The *Times* of London in its issue of April 6, and 13, 1833 made some adverse remarks on the action of the Government regarding this particular issue.
12. Translation of the Creed maintained by the Ancient Brahmins as founded on the Sacred Authorities (1833).
13. *The Autobiographical Letter (Sketch)*. It was published by Sandford Arnot in the *Athenaeum* of October 5, 1833.

F. Works Published in America

1. *Correspondence Relative to the Prospects of Christianity and the Means of Promoting its Reception in India* (Cambridge University Press, 1824).
2. *The Precepts of Jesus* together with the First, and the Second Appeals to the Christian Public (B Bates, New York 1825).
3. Appeal to the Christian Public in Defence of the Precepts of Jesus Boston (?) Christian Register Office (?) about April, 1826, Miss Adrienne Moore is not certain whether it was really an American edition of any of the Appeals or merely an advertisement by the Christian Register Office of the 1825 London edition of the Final Appeal.

4. *The Precepts of Jesus* together with the First, Second and the Final Appeals to the Christian public, Parts. I & II (*Christian Register* Office, Boston 1828).
5. A Vindication of the Incarnation of the Deity as a Common Basis of Hindooism and Christianity. (Salem, Massachusetts, 1828).
6. Brief Extracts from Rammohun Roy's Appeals, (Philadelphia Unitarian Association Publication. Miss Moore adds the following comment : "This is possibly an excerpt torn from some publication").
7. Miss Moore mentions in appendix to her list of publication entitled : Address to the Members of Congress on the Abolition of Slavery.

G. In German

Translation of the *Abridgement of the Vedanta*.

H. In Dutch

Translation of the collection entitled *Translation of Several Principal Books, Passages and Texts of the Vedas* published in London in 1832.

Smith, George, *Life of Dutt.*

Smith, Vincent, *Oxford History of India.*

Stokes, Eric, *English Utilitarians and India.*

Tagore, Rabindranath, *Man.*

Tagore, Rabindranath, *Bharat-pathik Rammohun Roy*, (Visva-Bharti, Tagore Centenary Edition).

Tagore, Saumyendra Nath, *Raja Rammohun Roy.*

Tripathi, A., *Trade and Finance in Bengal.*

Toynbee, Arnold, *A Study of History*, Vol. VIII.

Wiley, Basil, *Eighteenth Century Background.*

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